



AM
1948
Kapl
c.1

Boston University



College of Liberal Arts
Library

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

HERMAN MELVILLE ON THE NEGRO AND THE SLAVE

by

Sidney Kaplan

(A.B., College of the City of New York, 1942)

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

1948



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

AM

1948

Capl

c.1

Approved

by

Reader.....*W. S. Tryon*.....
Professor of History

Reader.....*Doris Holmes*.....
Associate Professor of English

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
	INTRODUCTION.....	4
I	THE PRIMER YEARS.....	8
II	AUTHOR AND NEW YORKER.....	23
III	<u>MARDI, AND A VOYAGE THITHER</u>	34
IV	LOOKING BACKWARD.....	50
V	HIGH-TIDE: <u>MOBY-DICK</u>	63
VI	EBB-TIDE: <u>PIERRE, BENITO CERENO, THE 'GEES</u> ...	78
VII	LOW-TIDE: <u>THE CONFIDENCE-MAN</u>	91
VIII	THE EVE OF WAR.....	103
	ABSTRACT.....	113
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	119

TABLE 1

Item	Value
1.	100.00
2.	100.00
3.	100.00
4.	100.00
5.	100.00
6.	100.00
7.	100.00
8.	100.00
9.	100.00
10.	100.00
11.	100.00
12.	100.00
13.	100.00
14.	100.00
15.	100.00
16.	100.00
17.	100.00
18.	100.00
19.	100.00
20.	100.00
21.	100.00
22.	100.00
23.	100.00
24.	100.00
25.	100.00
26.	100.00
27.	100.00
28.	100.00
29.	100.00
30.	100.00
31.	100.00
32.	100.00
33.	100.00
34.	100.00
35.	100.00
36.	100.00
37.	100.00
38.	100.00
39.	100.00
40.	100.00
41.	100.00
42.	100.00
43.	100.00
44.	100.00
45.	100.00
46.	100.00
47.	100.00
48.	100.00
49.	100.00
50.	100.00
51.	100.00
52.	100.00
53.	100.00
54.	100.00
55.	100.00
56.	100.00
57.	100.00
58.	100.00
59.	100.00
60.	100.00
61.	100.00
62.	100.00
63.	100.00
64.	100.00
65.	100.00
66.	100.00
67.	100.00
68.	100.00
69.	100.00
70.	100.00
71.	100.00
72.	100.00
73.	100.00
74.	100.00
75.	100.00
76.	100.00
77.	100.00
78.	100.00
79.	100.00
80.	100.00
81.	100.00
82.	100.00
83.	100.00
84.	100.00
85.	100.00
86.	100.00
87.	100.00
88.	100.00
89.	100.00
90.	100.00
91.	100.00
92.	100.00
93.	100.00
94.	100.00
95.	100.00
96.	100.00
97.	100.00
98.	100.00
99.	100.00
100.	100.00

INTRODUCTION

The Negro author's rich contribution to American literature has been studied in some detail by Benjamin Brawley, Vernon Loggins, Sterling Brown, and most recently, by Hugh Morris Gloster in his Negro Voices in American Fiction.¹ Concerning the Negro himself--his character, problem and future--as delineated in that literature, whether by black author or white, critical interest has been meager. Except, perhaps, in the fields of Negro folklore and balladry, much spade-work remains to be done. A quarter-century ago, John Herbert Nelson made a beginning at the task in a doctoral thesis, praiseworthy for its pioneering, but significant chiefly as the first draft of a kind of concordance of the subject.² The racist bias that weakens this thesis has been remarked by Sterling Brown in a brief but germinal article in the Journal of Negro Education.³

¹ Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948.

² Written in 1923 at Cornell University and substantially embodied in The Negro Character in American Literature (Lawrence, Kansas: Department of Journalism Press, 1926). Eva Beatrice Dykes, in The Negro in English Romantic Thought (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1942), has furnished a model in a restricted field of the kind of compendium needed for the whole range of American literature.

³ "Negro Characters As Seen by White Authors," II (April, 1933), 179-203.

A sample of this bias may be observed in Nelson's section on Joel Chandler Harris, wherein it is stated that "the whole range of the negro's character is revealed...thoroughly" by a twenty-six line sketch of a "fallin' out" between Brer Fox and Brer Mud Turkle.⁴ A few years later, Lorenzo Dow Turner attempted to explore a portion of the field in another doctoral monograph.⁵ But Turner, although free from bias of any kind, had evidently read neither widely nor deeply in Melville's works, and his discussion of Mardi--the only item he mentions--ignores the quietist and amorphous conclusion that follows its incisive premises.

In general, critics of American literature have not been sharply aware of Melville's continuous concern with the Negro and his lot. Yet this concern may be seen as an artistic-political motif running through all his work. Nelson, who devotes many lines to minor portraits by minor authors, has only a few words for Melville's gallery of Negro characters. "Not only in...narratives of Southern life," he notes casually in a discussion of ante-bellum fiction, "but sometimes in unexpected places, far afield, the negro puts in an appearance. Rose Water of Melville's White Jacket (1850), a sea story far

⁴ Nelson, op. cit., pp. 117-8.

⁵ Anti-Slavery Sentiments in American Literature Prior to 1865 (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1929).

removed from the novel of domestic life, boasts that his mother was the mistress of a planter."⁶ To be sure, the exegetical writings of Vernon L. Parrington, Van Wyck Brooks, F.O. Matthiessen, Yvor Winters, Henry Seidel Canby, John Freeman, Edward Seaver, Lewis Mumford, and others mentioned in this study have not ignored the significant parts played by the Negro and slavery in Melville's art. But these critics have almost always been limited by consideration of space to only occasional references to the subject, although their brief observations are often full of insight.

It is hoped that this exploration of Melville's thinking on the Negro and the slave will be of help in providing a bit of ~~the~~ ground-work for the future critic who attempts a mature and full-length assessment of the Negro character as portrayed in American literature. The scope of this treatment, in its special interest, is Melville's literary production up to the fall of Sumter in April 1861. As such, although it surveys all his major prose (with the exceptions of the supplement to the Battle-Pieces and the posthumously printed Billy Budd), it is only the first half of a longer study which will also examine the poems of the Civil War period, the long philosophical Clarel, and the miscellaneous verse of John Marr and

⁶ Nelson, op. cit., p. 30. Melville receives no mention at all in Albert Keiser's, The Indian in American Literature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1933), although Tashtego, the noble Gay Head Indian, is a principal character of Moby-Dick.

Timoleon.

Any attempt to isolate a single strain of thought out of a complex body of writing must inevitably make for distortion. What is significant becomes lopsidedly dominant, vivisection too often resulting in murder. The excessive bulk of quotation and footnote in the following pages represents, in part, an attempt to right a probable imbalance. Conscious, also, that an admiration--with certain reservations--for the politico-ethical platform of Abolitionism might also contribute to distortion, the writer has tried throughout to hew to the line of factual statement.

The large and growing body of printed Melvilleana, together with the manuscript collections in the Harvard University Library and in the New York Public Library, has provided the source-material for the study.

CHAPTER I

THE PRIMER YEARS

Why is there evil in the world? Whence comes the "innate depravity" that dwells in some men? Wherefore, in the words of Paul, the "mystery of iniquity"? With these questions Herman Melville wrestled long and mightily; to answer them, he ceaselessly applied his tremendous power of imagination and intellect. "Until I was twenty-five, I had no development at all," he wrote to Hawthorne in 1851. "From my twenty-fifth year I date my life."¹ For nearly half a century following this late matriculation, there was hardly a day that Melville did not worry about the anomaly of wickedness in a God-created world. Now, to an ever-increasing body of his countrymen and to the humanitarian conscience of the age, the most dramatic and shameful example of this wickedness was the "peculiar institution" that flourished in his own land--the sin of Negro slavery. It should prove interesting, therefore, to find out what Melville knew about the Negro and his lot; to discover what he had to say in public or private about slavery and its tangle of problems--and whether he did anything about them; to assess in what measure his experience and attitudes dictated the stuff and shape of his art. "Great geniuses are parts of

¹ Raymond M. Weaver, Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1921), p. 323.

the times, and possess a corresponding coloring," said Melville of Hawthorne--but more truly could have said of himself.² The fact that Melville wrote most of his major prose in the turbulent years preceeding the Civil War provides an opportunity to analyse this "corresponding coloring" in that section of his panoramic canvas which shows the figure of the Negro and slave.

"A whale-ship was my Yale College and my Harvard," remarks Ishmael in Moby-Dick.³ It was in October 1844, having just turned twenty-five, that Melville after almost four years on whaler and frigate in strange waters and distant lands, debarked in Boston and received his discharge from the United States Navy. Less than three years later, Typee and Omoo were published in London and New York. It is no exaggeration to state, that from Typee to Billy Budd, there is not a major work--indeed, hardly a substantial minor one--which does not portray a Negro character or deal in some way with the Negro problem in the United States. But before proceeding to an examination of these works--poems, essays, sketches, journals, letters and marginalia--that make up the voluminous record, it will be necessary to explore Melville's experience with, and thinking about, the Negro in the years of his allegedly callow youth.

² Herman Melville, The Apple-Tree Table and Other Sketches, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922), p. 69.

³ Herman Melville, Moby-Dick or The Whale, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 105.

The records, of course, are scant. His first eleven years young Melville lived in New York City, the next six in Albany. Doubtless there were opportunities for those eyes which Mrs. Hawthorne found "undistinguished"--yet full of "keen perceptive power" in their "strange, lazy glance"--to make their observations of northern Negro urban life of early ante-bellum days.⁴ And then there was family tradition, for Melville was "the son of a gentleman"--as the sub-title of Redburn is careful to point out--and tradition was important to that stiff matriarch, Herman's mother, whose father, General Peter Gansevoort, the hero of Fort Stanwix, had been poured in the heroic mould.⁵ The gigantic general, a Hudson River patroon who had kept slaves, played no small part in the youth's imagination. Generous and brave, he lived in family history as "the kindest of masters" to Moyer, "an incorruptible and most punctual old

⁴ Weaver, op. cit., pp. 24-5. In White-Jacket, Melville speaks of "the houses in West Broadway in New York, after being broken into and burned out by the Negro mob." (Herman Melville, White-Jacket, The World in a Man-of-War [Boston: The St. Botolph Society, 1922], p. 70). Whether Melville here refers to the Negro Conspiracy of 1745, or an event that he might have witnessed, I have not been able to discover.

⁵ A decade after Pierre had been published, Melville wrote his cousin, Catherine Gansevoort: "Upon returning from New York I was made happy by finding your note enclosing the pictures. The one of our grandmother is clear and admirable. But alas for the Hero of Fort Stanwix! Photographically rendered, he seems under a net of eclipse, emblematic perhaps of the gloom which his spirit may feel in looking down upon this dishonorable epoch--But don't let us become too earnest. A very bad habit." (Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, New York Public Library, Melville to Catherine Gansevoort, February 17, 1863).

black," and to Cranz, Ket, Douw and the other stable-slaves. Never would the general flog them; such cruelty was something "unknown in that patriarchal time and country--but he would refuse to say his wonted pleasant word" when they had fallen down on the job; and "that was very bitter to them." Yes, says Melville, speaking of his grandfather through the mouth of young Pierre Glendinning, "all of them loved" the grand old man, "as his shepherds loved old Abraham."⁶

There had been another and newer tradition also in the Melville family. "I remember that my father had often spoken to gentlemen visiting our house in New York," writes Melville in Redburn, "of the unhappiness that the discussion of the abolition" of the slave trade had occasioned in Liverpool; "that the struggle between sordid interest and humanity had made sad havoc at the fire-sides of the merchants; estranged sons from sires; and even segregated husband from wife"--the kind of conflict that was to divide many an American family in Civil War days. His father had spoken of a friend, "the good and Great Roscoe, the intrepid enemy of the trade, who in every way exerted his fine talents toward its suppression...." After writing his poem, The Wrongs of Africa, and several pamphlets, this courageous man had delivered a speech in Parliament, "which, as coming from a member for Liverpool, was

⁶ Herman Melville, Pierre, or The Ambiguities (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931), p. 33.

supposed to have turned many votes, and had no small share in the triumph of sound policy and humanity that ensued."⁷ The passage perhaps changes a little the standard picture of the pathetic and effete importer of French luxuries who counselled young men that "money is the only solid substratum on which man can safely build in this world,"⁸ and furnishes a fresh insight into Melville's early home-life. Had Allan Melville been influenced perhaps by the vigorous anti-slave-trade views of young Lemuel Shaw up in Boston? The two families were quite intimate, and Shaw, who would have married Melville's Aunt Nancy had not death intervened, was destined to give him his daughter Elizabeth as bride. In 1811, at the age of thirty,

⁷ Herman Melville, Romances of Herman Melville (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1931), pp. 1562-3. In Redburn's "prosy old guide-book" there is a note made by his father: "Dine with Mr. Roscoe on Monday." William Roscoe (1753-1831), poet and politician, was elected to Parliament in 1806 in the Whig interest and spoke there for abolition of the slave-trade; on the Catholic question he was a liberal. Washington Irving in his Sketch Book described Roscoe as he appeared in 1820, as did Mrs. Hemans, who saw him in later years. (Dictionary of National Biography). Although I assume that the passages quoted above are validly autobiographical, it is quite possible that Melville used information gathered from Dr. James Currie's Memoir, which employs much the same language as Redburn: "The general discussion of the slavery of the negroes had produced much unhappiness in Liverpool. Men are awaking to their situation; and the struggle between interest and humanity has made great havoc in the happiness of many families." (William Wallace Currie, editor, Memoir of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of James Currie, M.D., F.R.S., of Liverpool. [London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831], I, 135; also cited in Henry Roscoe, The Life of William Roscoe [Boston: Russell, Odiorne and Company, 1833], p. 54 n).

⁸ Willard Thorp, editor, Herman Melville, Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography and Notes (New York: American Book Co., 1938), p. xi.

young attorney Shaw, in an address to the Massachusetts Humane Society, had called the slave trade "one continued series of tremendous crimes"; in 1820, in the North American Review he had excoriated Senator King's stand on the Missouri question; sixteen years later, as a judge, his decision in Commonwealth v Aves was to lay the basis for Curtis's dissent from Taney in the Dred Scott case.⁹

When Melville shipped as a sailor aboard the merchantman St. Lawrence bound for Liverpool in June 1839¹⁰--his father had died seven years before and he was doubtless sick of clerking it in Albany--the probability is that he had done little thinking about the role of the Negro in American life. To be sure, the two effusive pieces of juvenilia that had appeared in his home-town press a few weeks before he sailed contain little serious thinking of any kind.¹¹ If, some years later, the whaler Acushnet was destined to be his Yale and Harvard, the St. Lawrence was to serve as preparatory school in matters not taught in the curriculum of "God-fearing" Albany Academy.¹²

⁹ Frederick Hathaway Chase, Lemuel Shaw, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts 1830-1866 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), pp. 161, 164.

¹⁰ William H. Gilman, "Melville's Liverpool Trip," Modern Language Notes, LXI (December, 1946), 543-7.

¹¹ "Fragments from a Writing Desk," in the Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser, May 4, 18, 1839.

¹² Weaver, op. cit., p. 71.

...the ... of the ...
... and ... the ...
... of the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

There were Negroes in the crew of the merchantman (fictionized as the Highlander), he tells us in Redburn. Most notable was Thompson, the cook--"a serious old fellow much given to metaphysics, and used to talk about original sin"--who in nautical lingo was called "the doctor," brewed abominable coffee, and washed so rarely that it was only his "color" that "kept us from seeing his dirty face." Ten years later Melville could still recall Thompson in vivid detail. The old cook, who "used to keep himself close shut-up in his caboose, a little cook-house, and never told any of his secrets," would spend Sunday mornings sitting over his boiling pots, reading a grease-stained Bible. Redburn had loved to peep in on him in his "smoky studio"--with "Mr. Thompson" red-crayoned on its door--where, on a shelf fronting the stove, he used to sit with his legs spread out very wide to keep them from scorching, "his book in one hand, and a pewter spoon in the other," stirring his pots, studying away, and "seldom taking his eye off the page."¹³

Reading "must have been very hard work" for Thompson; "he muttered to himself quite loud as he read; and big drops of

¹³ Melville, Romances, pp. 1495, 1598. Mr. Thompson probably had a hard time keeping his bible from getting grease-stained. "It was customary for whaling cooks to save the grease, or 'slush,' which resulted from cooking," writes Elmo Paul Hohman. "Upon the vessel's return this grease was sold to soap manufacturers; and a portion of the sum so realized was added to the cook's earnings in order to induce a careful husbanding of this thrifty by-product." (The American Whaleman, A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry [New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928], p. 231 n).

sweat would stand upon his brow, and roll off, till they hissed on the hot stove before him." One day, having wrestled in vain with a "mysterious passage in the Book of Chronicles," he called Redburn into the cook-house, "read the passage over" to him and demanded "an explanation." The answer--that "it was a mystery that no one could explain; not even a parson"--did not satisfy, and he continued to pore over the text. "He must have been a member of one of those negro churches, which are to be found in New York," comments Redburn. "For when we lay at the wharf...a committee of three reverend looking old darkies," canonically attired, called upon him in his cook-house for more than an hour. Before they went away they stepped inside, "and then we heard someone reading aloud and preaching; and after that a psalm was sung and a benediction given; when the door opened again, and the congregation came out in a great perspiration; owing, I suppose, to the chapel being so small, and there being only one seat besides the stove."¹⁴

Thompson "was a great crony of the steward's, who, being a handsome, dandy mulatto, that had once been a barber in West-Broadway, went by the name of Lavender." The steward dressed flashily in the "cast-off suits of the captain of a London liner," all "in the height of the exploded fashions, and of every kind of color and cut"--although occasionally, in

¹⁴ Melville, Romances, p. 1599.

suit of black he looked "like a serious young colored gentleman of Barbadoes, about to take orders." Lavender was "a sentimental kind of darky," fond of novels such as Three Spaniards and Charlotte Temple. "Every fine evening, these two, the cook and steward, used to sit on the little shelf in the cook-house...smoking their pipes, and gossiping about the events" of the day; and sometimes "Mr. Thompson would take down the Bible, and read a chapter for the edification of Lavender," usually that one containing the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. It was all new and exotic to the country bumpkin--the adjectival sophistication is Melville's of a decade later.¹⁵

Roaming the streets of Liverpool after the Highlander had docked, the boy's thoughts "would revert to Virginia and Carolina; and also to the historical fact that the African slave-trade once constituted the principal commerce of Liverpool; and that the prosperity of the town was once supposed to have been indissolubly linked to its prosecution." One thing strikes the eager sightseer amidst the want and woe of the place--"the absence of negroes; who in the large towns in 'free states' of America, almost always form a considerable portion of the destitute." Curious also are "the looks of interest with which negro-sailors are regarded when they walk the Liverpool streets." Three or four times he encounters Lavender, the "black steward, dressed very handsomely, and

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 1599, 1600.

walking arm in arm with a good-looking English woman." His initial reaction is shock: "so young and inexperienced, and unconsciously swayed in some degree by local and social prejudices...at first I was surprised that a colored man should be treated as he is in this town; but a little reflection showed that, after all, it was but recognizing his claims to humanity and normal equality."¹⁶ Was it perhaps this early introduction to a sector of life uncontaminated by "local and social prejudice" that provided Melville three years later so easy a rapport with the men and women of color of Polynesia?

On January 3, 1841 Melville shipped aboard the whaler Acushnet; on July 9, 1842 he jumped ship in the Marquesas; a month later an Australian whaler, the Lucy Ann, carried him to Tahiti, where in September he boarded another whaler, the Leviathan. In August 1843 he mustered into service on the frigate, United States, lying off Honolulu, and in October 1844 was discharged from the service at Boston. For three years he had served before the mast. What contact had Melville had with Negroes during these years?

The log-books of the three whalers on which Melville

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 1591-2. In the opening lines of Billy Budd, written at the end of his life, Melville's mind went back to this incident: "A somewhat remarkable instance recurs to me. In Liverpool, now half a century ago I saw under the shadow of the great dingy street-wall of Prince's Dock (an obstruction long since removed) a common sailor, so intensely black that he must needs have been a native African of the unadulterated blood of Ham." (Herman Melville, Shorter Novels of Herman Melville [New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., Black and Gold Edition, 1942], p. 229.)

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

served and which might furnish part of the information have not been discovered, although it is a matter of general knowledge that Negro sailors were numerous in the whaling crews of the time. On the famous Nantucket whaler, Essex, stove in and sunk by a spermaceti in November 1820, six of its complement of twenty men were Negroes.¹⁷ Melville, in Omoo,

¹⁷ Charles Olson, Call Me Ishmael (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947), p. 3. According to one authority, "one-half of the American seamen in 1850 were colored men. Of 150,000 seamen in the navy and merchant marine and in the whale, cod and mackerel fisheries, 25,000 were Americans, of whom Captain Thomas B. Sullivan estimated that half were colored." (Charles H. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States [New York: Vanguard Press, 1927], p. 49). William H. Meyers, in his journal kept on board the Cyane, under date of May 31, 1842 tells of meeting a Negro highwayman, Taylor, who "had got adrift from a Whaleman, learned the language, and, being a smart, active fellow--loving rum and hating work--became an apt comrade to such a desirable community." (Charles Roberts Anderson, editor, Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-44, in the Frigate "United States" [Durham: Duke University Press, 1937], p. 107). Negro whalers seem to have been comparatively rare, at least on Nantucket vessels, until after the Revolution. Then the growing demands of the industry led to their importation from the mainland in considerable numbers. Living in a small area on the southern outskirts of Nantucket known as New Guinea, some of them soon became excellent seamen. In some cases, nearly half of the whaling crew were Negroes. For instance, Paul Cuffee, who later became merchant, philanthropist, and colonizer, began his career aboard a whaler bound for Mexico and the West Indies. As late as 1807 it was reported that the larger whaleships carried twenty-one men, of whom nine were commonly Negroes, while the smaller vessels, with crews of sixteen, usually signed seven Negroes. The crew of the whaler, Lion, in that year carried three officers, eight white men and nine Negroes. In 1820 it was estimated that about one-eighth of all Nantucket whalers were pure Indians, while from one-quarter to three-eighths were Negroes and Indian half-breeds. By 1880 the New Bedford whaling fleet, comprising 3,896 hands, was made up of one-third native white American, one-third Portuguese, and one-third Negro, Kanaka, European and Asiatic. Hohman states that "some of the whaling owners and masters were guilty of sharp

places aboard the Australian whaler, Julia, two Negro characters: the cook, Baltimore, and a seaman, Black Dan.¹⁸ About the crew of the Acushnet there is some information available. In 1850, one Hubbard, a member of the ship's company on Melville's voyage, visited Arrowhead and reported what had become of their comrades. Of the original crew of twenty-four men, four had been Negroes: Tom Johnson, who had gone ashore at Mowee half-dead with a "disreputable disease" and who had died in the hospital there;¹⁹ Blackus, the "little black"--probably the model for Pip--who ran away at San Francisco; Reed, a mulatto, and the Old Cook, both of whom sailed home with the ship.²⁰ Anderson, in his exhaustive

practices in their treatment of both blacks and Indians. Certain Nantucket negroes were shamefully exploited through exorbitant charges which were made to exceed the amounts of their lays, or earnings. The resultant debt to the owner was then used, wherever it seemed advisable to prevent possible escape, as a pretext for imprisonment during the short periods spent ashore between voyages." Morison cites discrimination in the apportionment of lays: one-seventy-fifth was commonly given to each white able seaman while one-eightieth or one-ninetieth was given to each Negro. (Hohman, op. cit., pp. 48-51, 300-301; Lorenzo Johnston Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England 1620-1776 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1942], pp. 116-117; Samuel Eliot Morison, The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860 [Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921], pp. 158, 354)..

¹⁸ Herman Melville, Omoo, A Narrative of Adventures in The South Seas, A Sequel to "Typee" (New York: American Publishers Corp., 1892), p. 44.

¹⁹ Hohman (op. cit., pp. 200-201) states that well-known "habits of dissipation in many ports made venereal disease a commonplace on shipboard." Officers were no exception.

²⁰ Weaver, op. cit., pp. 160-1.

examination of the records of the United States, has apparently been unable to turn up anything on the racial or national composition of the crew, although White-Jacket, in its long muster of characters, has seven Negroes.²¹

An attitude which no doubt came under Melville's observation during his hitch in the navy--that of the "intellectual" and officer strata aboard the United States towards the Negroes in the crew--is revealed by a few remarks in an "Abstract" of the cruise kept by one Wallace, probably a clerk on the ship, whom Anderson has identified as White-Jacket's poetic friend, Lemsford. Wallace notes that on February 22, 1843 (five months before Melville signed on), while the United States lay off Mazatlan, the Commodore of the Fleet "gave a splendid dinner to the Officers of HBM ship Champion, Sloops of War Cyane & Yorktown, with a number of invited guests from shore. Everything passed off remarkably well untill the shades of evening began to close in, when every negro in the Ship was called aft and Mounted on the Poop in Company with the Commodore, Captain, and the Officers of the Champion, and the different Consuls from shore, 'part of our own having retired in disgust;'²² and the whole of them amused themselves with patting juba and singing negro songs," the Commodore and French Consul trying

²¹ Anderson does mention the case of Robert Lucas, Negro slave of the purser on the United States, which I discuss on page 59f. (Charles Roberts Anderson, Melville in the South Seas [New York: Columbia University Press, 1939], p. 432).

²² The quotation marks are Wallace's, their significance untraced.

which could outdo the other. "Captain A. Armstrong [the brutal Captain Claret of White-Jacket] was in high glee but was lifted to his Cabin, being too fatigued to walk without support. Mr. L. [Lockwood, Professor of Mathematics and midshipmen's schoolmaster on the United States, 1842-44] commenced an Oration to the Men 'on the blessings of Liberty,' but was so overpowered with Patriotism (or wine) that he sunk exhausted," and was carried to his stateroom. Meyers, a strange combination of gunner and water-colorist--later head of the Naval Laboratory for pyrotechnic research in Washington--who also kept a journal of the cruise, makes the following note under date of February 22, 1843: "Washington's Birthday. A ball on board the States, one poor chap buried at the height of the frolic. Heard that the galley negroes were dancing on the poop of the frigate. Select company for Naval Officers [sic]."23

The incident, which reveals an attitude of Melville's friend-to-be, is quite in keeping with the character of Claret, who cruelly forced the Negroes in the crew to act lion-and-gladiator for his amusement; it should not be interpreted as any tendency towards abolitionism on the part of the sadistic captain. Lockwood's oration "on the blessings of Liberty"--alcoholically sincere and heartlessly ironic--would perhaps indicate that the celebration of Washington's birthday was the

²³ Anderson, Journal of a Cruise, pp. 15-6, 44-6, 121-2, 129-30.

reason for the unusual invitation to the galley Negroes.

So much, then, or so little, does the record reveal of Melville's life and thought as they touched the Negro and his problem up to October 1844, when, in his fateful twenty-fifth year, discharge in hand, he debarked from the frigate, United States, in Boston harbor. Two years would pass before that experience found its way into print.

CHAPTER II

AUTHOR AND NEW YORKER

Typee, Melville's first book--it was to bring him small-scale fame as the "literary discoverer of the South Seas"--although it makes mention of "Mungo, our black cook"¹ on its first few pages, has little about the Negro in it. And this is not surprising, for its central action is confined to the adventures of two white deserters from the crew of the whaler Dolly to a Polynesian island. Yet this book--which has much to say about people of color--should not be passed by without noting its clean atmosphere of unconditional, physical democracy. Neither in Melville's castigation of the "riot and debauchery" on the Dolly after she is boarded by the Nukuheva maidens, nor in his account of his relations with Fayaway, is there any trace of color-chauvinism. Typee is altogether free from the kind of racist observation made by another voyager of a decade earlier, who describing a South Sea Islander brought back to the United States as a curiosity for exhibit, stated that he was "remarkably well-formed, robust and active...very intelligent," and differed "materially from the black race of

¹ Herman Melville, Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life (New York: Dodd Mead and Co., 1923), p. 22.

[illegible]

North America."²

In Omoo, which came out the following year, three Negro characters appear--"the poor old black cook," Baltimore, "so called from the place of his birth, being a runaway Maryland slave"; Black Dan, a tough seaman, who calls down Ropey, the land-lubber; and Billy Loon, "a jolly little negro, tricked out in a soiled blue jacket, studded all over with rusty bell-buttons, and garnished with shabby gold lace," who is drummer and pounder of the tambourine at the royal court of the Sandwich Islands.

² John Keller and Leonard Shaw, The South Sea Islanders, with a Short Sketch of Captain Morrell's Voyage to the North and South Pacific Ocean, in the Schooner Antarctic belonging to Messrs. Bergh, Westerfield, Carnley, Skiddy, Livingston, and Ivers of New York (New York: Printed by Snowden, 58 Wall Street, 1831), p. 4. Moby-Dick contains a passage reminiscent in its spirit of the incidents in Typee discussed above. When the Pegud meets the Bachelor, a Nantucketer, Ishmael observes that on "the quarter-deck, the mates and harpooners were dancing with the olive-hued girls who had eloped with them from the Polynesian Isles; while suspended in an ornamental boat, firmly secured aloft between the foremast and mainmast, three Long Island negroes, with glittering fiddle-bows of whale ivory, were presiding over the hilarious jig." (Melville, Moby-Dick, p. 460). The book-reviewer for the National Anti-Slavery Standard, vaguely sensing a relationship of the subject-matter of Typee to abolitionist doctrine, found the "whole narrative more entertaining, not so much for the style as the facts, than Robinson Crusoe. We can honestly say of this book that it is curiously charming, and charmingly instructive." (XV [April 2, 1865], 175). The Southern Literary Messenger, usually very sensitive to the social and political implications of literary works, thought it contained "many curious and interesting matters." (XII [April, 1846], 256; XVIII [September, 1852], 574-75). Gossip, base and baseless, found its way into print from time to time, concerning a child of Fayaway's by Melville. (Clarence Ghodes, "Gossip About Melville in the South Seas," New England Quarterly, X [September, 1937], 526-31; John H. Birss, "Melville's Marquesas," Saturday Review of Literature, VIII [January 2, 1932], 429).

Baltimore is a stock-character who from now on will appear over and over in Melville's novels--the old, shambling Negro cook, butt of practical jokes, whose tribulations are "indeed sore," but whom Melville is too often wont to display with patronizing sympathy as a minstrel-show figure.³ "Unlashing his hammock for the night," Baltimore is apt to find "a wet log fast asleep in it," and then wake in the morning "with his wooly head tarred." In his cook-pot he will like as not discover an "old boot boiling away as saucy as could be, and sometimes cakes of pitch candying in his oven." When a deck-climbing sea almost drowns him, the sailors, springing into the main-rigging out of harm's way, roar with laughter at his calamity. "Poor fellow!" comments Melville, "he was altogether too good-natured. Say what they will about easy-tempered people, it is far better, on some accounts, to have the temper of a wolf." Greater respect has Melville for the Negro who plays no cringing part: "Who ever thought of taking liberties with gruff Black Dan!" Baltimore it is who carries (but does not sign) the round-robin petition of grievance to the consul on shore. Not so Black Dan; he signs, parts company

³ "Never saw the negro-minstrels, I suppose?" asks the confidence-man of his suspicious fellow-passengers. (Herman Melville, The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade [New York: Dix, Edwards and Co., 1857], p. 49). In the early 1830's, T.D. Rice first jumped Jim Crow along the Ohio River and put the "minstrel Negro" on the stage. (Brown, op. cit., p. 188).

with the cook, who stays with the ship, and marches to the Calaboose Beretanee with his fellow-petitioners. On Billy Loon, neither sympathy nor admiration is bestowed: he is simply one of "a low rabble of foreigners...kept about the person of Kanekameka for the purpose of ministering to his ease or enjoyment."⁴

Typee had come out in 1846, the year of Polk's declaration of war against Mexico, that so outraged Emerson and Thoreau and spurred Lowell to ridicule the windy patriots who, spouting of the nation's destiny, simply wanted to "lug new slave-states in." Away from the country on whaler and frigate while the trouble with Mexico was brewing, Melville apparently had not yet made up his mind on the issue involved; another few years would pass before Mardi would add its tardy objection to the Mexican War.

These half-dozen years from October 1844, when he returned from the South Seas, to October 1850 when he gathered his family before the huge fireplace at Arrowhead in the Berkshires, were growing ones for young Melville. They were exciting years of intellectual gestation which finally transmuted the "author of Peedee, Hulabaloo and Pog-dog"⁵ into the creator of Moby-Dick, Pierre and Billy Budd. New York City was their most frequent scene. By the beginning of 1845, Melville was embracing

⁴ Melville, Omoo, pp. 44, 122, 284; Anderson, Melville in the South Seas, p. 207.

⁵ Weaver, op. cit., p. 290.

his brothers Gansevoort and Allan, who practiced law at 10 Wall Street, and for the next two-and-a-half years, when he was not with his family at Lansingburgh, the big city was his stamping-ground. Part, perhaps all of Typee was written there, and in the fall of 1847 he carried a bride over the threshold of the house on lower Fourth Avenue, where with the exception of some minor excursions and a four-month business trip to Europe, the Melville family lived for the next three years.⁶

New York of the 1840's was an exciting place for a man feeling his mental oats and wanting to write. The commercial, if not yet the cultural capital of the country, it was a center of political and literary controversy, inextricably interfused. Many of the American great either lived in or visited New York--and slavery, with all its ramifications in politics and culture, was inevitably the main topic of discussion. Melville, under the guidance and patronage of Evert and George Duyckinck--editors of the Literary World, owners of one of the largest private libraries in the country, lions of the literary circles, welcomers of celebrities--was sure to hear frequent and intelligent discussion of the Negro as man and slave.

At literary receptions in the Waverley Place home of Anne Charlotte Lynch, Melville could talk with Horace Greeley, William Cullen Bryant and Margaret Fuller, who were regular

⁶ Luther Stearns Mansfield, "Herman Melville: Author and New Yorker, 1844-1851," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1936), pp. 18, 19, 141, 144; Weaver, op. cit., pp. 263-68.

visitors. Often present in the early years of these gatherings was Lydia M. Child, who with her husband edited the National Anti-Slavery Standard and who in 1833 had published the first real anti-slavery book in America, An Appeal for that Class of Americans Called Africans. Walt Whitman and Fenimore Cooper he never met, but Bryant he knew as an acquaintance, and perhaps Irving and Poe.⁷ Around 1847-48 the Duyckinck Saturday nights were transformed into a kind of society to whose meetings visiting celebrities were sure to be dragged. It was under the title of "The Colonel's Club" that William Allen Butler, its chairman, in a series of seven articles in the Literary World--the fourth of which represented General Zachary Taylor as offering the Colonel a choice of cabinet posts--gave a Pickwickian version of the members of the "Knights of the Round Table," among them Cornelius Mathews, Henry T. Tuckerman, Edward J. Gould, Bailey Myers, Fletcher Harper and James Russell Lowell.⁸ The animated discussions in the clubs, salons and lecture halls of the city explored a great variety of subjects; for the social upheavals of 1848 in Europe,

⁷ Ibid., pp. 24, 25, 28, 199, 200. Among others whom he no doubt met at the Lynch and Duyckinck soirees were N.P. Willis, Chancellor William Kent, Bishop Wainwright, Generals Dix and Gaines, Mrs. George Ripley, Kate and Mary Sedgwick, the artists Darley and Duboyal, Fitz-Greene Halleck, John Inman, Mrs. Kirkland, Grace Greenwood, Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith, and Professor Thomas Low Nichols. Nichols, who supported Polk in 1844, became an ardent Democrat and later an expatriate Copperhead, helped to get Typee into print. (Forty Years of American Life 1821-1861 [New York: Stackpole Sons Publishing Co., 1937], p. 212).

⁸ Ibid., pp. 73, 75.

coinciding with the new and glittering revelation of manifest destiny in America, had sharpened all problems--with slavery, the key problem, clamoring for immediate solution. It was thus in the stimulating environment of Manhattan that Melville began to work out the wide range of political and social ideas shortly to be bandied about by the talkative philosophers of Mardi.

The Duyckincks were Melville's closest friends during this time, but on political matters they apparently did not see eye to eye--at least, not in 1849, on the evidence of Mardi. When George Duyckinck grew disturbed by the British press's insistence that the Mexican War and the Oregon boundary dispute were proof of America's ambition for imperialist expansion, Evert, his brother, counselled him: "Don't let the Times frighten you out of respect for your country." The respectable Duyckincks, looking forward without qualms to the annexation of the whole of Mexico and the profit that would accrue thereby to the merchants of New York, justified their attitude in terms of resistless fate and the total prosperity of the Continent.⁹

Over the slavery question, the Duyckincks, whose opinions were perhaps influenced by their close friendship with William Gilmore Simms,¹⁰ thought too much fuss was being made. "Let

⁹ Duyckinck Collection, New York Public Library, Evert A. Duyckinck to George L. Duyckinck, December 13, 1947.

¹⁰ Mansfield, op. cit., p. 49. The Duyckincks were intimate with Poe, Bryant, Simms and Irving and probably introduced Melville to them. (See Simms to Evert A. Duyckinck, February 25, 1846, Duyckinck Collection).

slavery take care of itself. It will. New York might re-establish again but who thinks of it?" wrote Evert to George in the midst of the nominating conventions of 1848; while eight years later George wrote to Evert that he feared Buchanan's election because it would produce "a slavery agitation" that would "crush literature and the book trade for an indefinite period."¹¹ The Literary World helped to implement this idea in subtle ways. Those chapters of Mardi which explored the controversial slave-issue were ignored in its columns while the frothy, innocuous chapters were played up in detail.¹² When a revised edition of John P. Kennedy's Swallow Barn was reviewed on its pages in 1851, the writer, scrupulously avoiding any mention of its many passages that presented slavery from the Southern point of view, smoothly styled it "a favorite picture of the South," of which "its languor is characteristic."¹³

Did Melville pass through the Duyckinck stage of thinking before he attained the positions of Mardi? It would appear so from his writing of 1847; indeed the philosophic quietism of

¹¹ Evert A. Duyckinck to George L. Duyckinck, May 23, 1848; George L. Duyckinck to Evert A. Duyckinck, November 14, 1856, Duyckinck Collection.

¹² Mansfield, op. cit., p. 109. Mansfield also points out that in the Duyckincks' Cyclopedia of American Literature (New York: Charles Scribner, 1856), II, 219-23, the Swallow Barn receives the same kind of treatment.

¹³ The Literary World, IV (April 7, 14, 21, 1849), 309-10, 333-36, 351-53.

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

the final conclusions of Taji and Babbalanja is not far from the interested apathy of the brothers Duyckinck. It was in this year that the young author, looking forward to the responsibilities of marriage and relying perhaps more on brother Gansevoort's influence with Democratic politicians than on his own reputation, solicited a post in the U.S. Treasury Department from the annexationist Polk.¹⁴ The request was turned down, as would be other requests for other offices in years to come, until in 1866, the seeker after consulships rested content with the ignominious post of outdoor customs inspector in the port of New York. Was there an element of revenge commingled with political bias that impelled Melville at this time to write a series of articles in current comic idiom for the short-lived weekly, Yankee Doodle, whose primary reason for being was to proclaim the presidential destiny of General Zachary Taylor, the hero of Palo Alto?¹⁵

¹⁴ "One day I called to see a lawyer, in Wall-street, New York--a young and ardent politician, whom I had met often on the stump in the recent political campaign, and who had just received the appointment of Secretary of Legation to the American Embassy somewhere near the Court of St. James." (Nichols, op. cit., p. 212).

¹⁵ In Yankee Doodle, or The American Punch--whose editorial office was the Duyckinck library--during the middle months of 1847, cartoonists and humorists (some of them Melville's close friends) displayed an antipathy to Daniel Webster and Henry Clay as candidates for 1848. Melville himself probably wrote other articles, as yet unidentified, for Yankee Doodle. Describing an editorial meeting of the magazine, Evert wrote to George Duyckinck in July 1847: "I wish you could have shared in the laugh last night...with Typee over the woodcuts of No 41....That print of the Buena Vista Alley!...See that figure of General Taylor....Mr. Polk I fear is the Slight Polk of Natural history. Then Santa Ana and his Generals....Bangs,

The "Authentic Anecdotes of 'Old Zack'" appeared in seven unsigned installments from July to September 1847 and were related as from Taylor's field headquarters in Mexico. Too little cannot be made of them.¹⁶ False and facetious, neither funny nor profound and entirely in the tradition of unprincipled American presidential campaigning, they carry no hint of the Mardian treatment of American politics to come. Nor are they free from the current chauvinism of the time in their exploitation of the stock minstrel character of the Negro servant, Sambo, who, when a Mexican shell falls into the fire on the dinner table so as to deposit the pan on General Taylor's head, cries out: "I 'spect you go now, Massa, lick the Mexicans, you armed cap a pie--cause now you got the hot pie for a cap, ha ha!"¹⁷

When Taylor died in office, most of the "Knights of the Round Table" echoed the eulogy that the Duyckincks printed in

the city reporter of the Morning News and Herman Melville will probably in some shape or other take care of the sea serpent." In October, Evert reported that it was indeed unfortunate that Melville, along with Matthews and Bangs, had not made a cent out of his hard work. (Mansfield, op. cit., pp. 74-8, 106).

¹⁶ Lowell (Works, IX, 37-8.) noticed Yankee Doodle in A Fable for Critics in the following lines:

Petty thieves, kept from flagranter crimes by their fears,
Shall peruse Yankee Doodle a blank term of years,--
That American Punch, like the English no doubt,--
Just the sugar and lemons and spirit left out.

¹⁷ Luther Stearns Mansfield, "Melville's Comic Articles on Zachary Taylor," American Literature, IX (January, 1938), 413. One must take with a grain of salt Mansfield's statement that the "Old Zack" series shows "the range of Melville's interests, his keen awareness of the life of his time, and his knowledge of the current humorous conventions."

the Literary World.¹⁸ Did Melville vote for Old Zack? There is no way of knowing.¹⁹ This, it is to be remembered, was the year of the formation of the Free Soil Party by a coalition of the abolitionist Liberty Party, the Barnburner faction of the New York Democrats and the "conscience" or anti-slavery Whigs of New England--in a sense, the first of the years of prelude to the coming war. To many--as to Margaret Fuller, whose brilliant conversation Melville doubtless overheard--it looked "as if a great day was coming and that time one of democracy," in which the eagle would "lead the van." The crucial question--and this was to be the nub of Mardi stripped of its "ontological heroics"--was whether the eagle would "soar upward to the sun or stoop for helpless prey...."²⁰ The polemic lightnings of the stormy decade that stretched from Taylor to Buchanan (with its center in the streets, salons and lecture-halls of New York) were to flash through the pages struck off in this busiest period of Melville's long life.

¹⁸ "The public view...will now return to the man as he first became known to the people in the half-forgotten epithet of 'Old Zack.' His doughty resolution, his courage, his manners, come back to us as we recall the time when the whole nation hung in suspense upon his movements in a foreign land with his isolated band of our countrymen in Mexico...." (The Literary World, VII,[July 20, 1850], 84).

¹⁹ In March 1849, in a letter to Evert Duyckinck defending Emerson's brilliance against Duyckinck's charge of plagiarism, Melville refers to Taylor once more: "I will answer that had not old Zack's father begot him, Old Zack would never have been the hero of Palo Alto." (Thorp, op. cit., p. 371).

²⁰ Cited by Douglas E. Branch, The Sentimental Years 1836-1860 (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1934), p. 27.

CHAPTER III

MARDI, AND A VOYAGE THITHER

While Mardi and White-Jacket were being put on paper and Redburn and Moby-Dick turned over in mind, Melville's contribution in public print comprised four book reviews in the Literary World, most notable of which for this study is that of Francis Parkman's The California and Oregon Trail. In rebuttal of Parkman's defamation of the Indian as brute, Melville, spiritedly asserting the essential indefensibility of narrow chauvinism, concluded that we "are all of us--Anglo-Saxons, Dyaks, and Indians--sprung from one head, and made in one image," that "if we regret this brotherhood now, we shall be forced to join hands hereafter; for a misfortune is not a fault; and good luck is not meritorious."¹ The democratic vigor of the passage is that of the opening chapters of Moby-Dick; it is the vigor of the man from whose "ruthless democracy on all sides" he thought his friend Hawthorne might

¹ Herman Melville, "Mr. Parkman's Tour," the Literary World, IV (March 31, 1849), 292. Melville's revisions in the manuscript-draft of this review show the intense thought that he gave the question. The first two sentences of the paragraph from which the above lines are quoted read as follows in the first draft: "It is too often the case, that civilized beings sojourning among savages soon come to regard them with disdain and contempt. But though in many cases this feeling is natural, it is not defensible; and it is visibly wrong." In the revision, the word "almost" is carroted in before "natural," and "wholly" is substituted for "visibly" before the word "wrong." (Duyckinck Collection).

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the *Agaricus bisporus* spores on the growth of *Agaricus bisporus* on the substrate. The concentration of the spores was 10⁴ spores/g (a), 10⁵ spores/g (b), 10⁶ spores/g (c), 10⁷ spores/g (d), 10⁸ spores/g (e), 10⁹ spores/g (f), 10¹⁰ spores/g (g), 10¹¹ spores/g (h), 10¹² spores/g (i), 10¹³ spores/g (j), 10¹⁴ spores/g (k), 10¹⁵ spores/g (l), 10¹⁶ spores/g (m), 10¹⁷ spores/g (n), 10¹⁸ spores/g (o), 10¹⁹ spores/g (p), 10²⁰ spores/g (q), 10²¹ spores/g (r), 10²² spores/g (s), 10²³ spores/g (t), 10²⁴ spores/g (u), 10²⁵ spores/g (v), 10²⁶ spores/g (w), 10²⁷ spores/g (x), 10²⁸ spores/g (y), 10²⁹ spores/g (z), 10³⁰ spores/g (aa), 10³¹ spores/g (ab), 10³² spores/g (ac), 10³³ spores/g (ad), 10³⁴ spores/g (ae), 10³⁵ spores/g (af), 10³⁶ spores/g (ag), 10³⁷ spores/g (ah), 10³⁸ spores/g (ai), 10³⁹ spores/g (aj), 10⁴⁰ spores/g (ak), 10⁴¹ spores/g (al), 10⁴² spores/g (am), 10⁴³ spores/g (an), 10⁴⁴ spores/g (ao), 10⁴⁵ spores/g (ap), 10⁴⁶ spores/g (aq), 10⁴⁷ spores/g (ar), 10⁴⁸ spores/g (as), 10⁴⁹ spores/g (at), 10⁵⁰ spores/g (au), 10⁵¹ spores/g (av), 10⁵² spores/g (aw), 10⁵³ spores/g (ax), 10⁵⁴ spores/g (ay), 10⁵⁵ spores/g (az), 10⁵⁶ spores/g (ba), 10⁵⁷ spores/g (bb), 10⁵⁸ spores/g (bc), 10⁵⁹ spores/g (bd), 10⁶⁰ spores/g (be), 10⁶¹ spores/g (bf), 10⁶² spores/g (bg), 10⁶³ spores/g (bh), 10⁶⁴ spores/g (bi), 10⁶⁵ spores/g (bj), 10⁶⁶ spores/g (bk), 10⁶⁷ spores/g (bl), 10⁶⁸ spores/g (bm), 10⁶⁹ spores/g (bn), 10⁷⁰ spores/g (bo), 10⁷¹ spores/g (bp), 10⁷² spores/g (bq), 10⁷³ spores/g (br), 10⁷⁴ spores/g (bs), 10⁷⁵ spores/g (bt), 10⁷⁶ spores/g (bu), 10⁷⁷ spores/g (bv), 10⁷⁸ spores/g (bw), 10⁷⁹ spores/g (bx), 10⁸⁰ spores/g (by), 10⁸¹ spores/g (bz), 10⁸² spores/g (ca), 10⁸³ spores/g (cb), 10⁸⁴ spores/g (cc), 10⁸⁵ spores/g (cd), 10⁸⁶ spores/g (ce), 10⁸⁷ spores/g (cf), 10⁸⁸ spores/g (cg), 10⁸⁹ spores/g (ch), 10⁹⁰ spores/g (ci), 10⁹¹ spores/g (cj), 10⁹² spores/g (ck), 10⁹³ spores/g (cl), 10⁹⁴ spores/g (cm), 10⁹⁵ spores/g (cn), 10⁹⁶ spores/g (co), 10⁹⁷ spores/g (cp), 10⁹⁸ spores/g (cq), 10⁹⁹ spores/g (cr), 10¹⁰⁰ spores/g (cs), 10¹⁰¹ spores/g (ct), 10¹⁰² spores/g (cu), 10¹⁰³ spores/g (cv), 10¹⁰⁴ spores/g (cw), 10¹⁰⁵ spores/g (cx), 10¹⁰⁶ spores/g (cy), 10¹⁰⁷ spores/g (cz), 10¹⁰⁸ spores/g (da), 10¹⁰⁹ spores/g (db), 10¹¹⁰ spores/g (dc), 10¹¹¹ spores/g (dd), 10¹¹² spores/g (de), 10¹¹³ spores/g (df), 10¹¹⁴ spores/g (dg), 10¹¹⁵ spores/g (dh), 10¹¹⁶ spores/g (di), 10¹¹⁷ spores/g (dj), 10¹¹⁸ spores/g (dk), 10¹¹⁹ spores/g (dl), 10¹²⁰ spores/g (dm), 10¹²¹ spores/g (dn), 10¹²² spores/g (do), 10¹²³ spores/g (dp), 10¹²⁴ spores/g (dq), 10¹²⁵ spores/g (dr), 10¹²⁶ spores/g (ds), 10¹²⁷ spores/g (dt), 10¹²⁸ spores/g (du), 10¹²⁹ spores/g (dv), 10¹³⁰ spores/g (dw), 10¹³¹ spores/g (dx), 10¹³² spores/g (dy), 10¹³³ spores/g (dz), 10¹³⁴ spores/g (ea), 10¹³⁵ spores/g (eb), 10¹³⁶ spores/g (ec), 10¹³⁷ spores/g (ed), 10¹³⁸ spores/g (ee), 10¹³⁹ spores/g (ef), 10¹⁴⁰ spores/g (eg), 10¹⁴¹ spores/g (eh), 10¹⁴² spores/g (ei), 10¹⁴³ spores/g (ej), 10¹⁴⁴ spores/g (ek), 10¹⁴⁵ spores/g (el), 10¹⁴⁶ spores/g (em), 10¹⁴⁷ spores/g (en), 10¹⁴⁸ spores/g (eo), 10¹⁴⁹ spores/g (ep), 10¹⁵⁰ spores/g (eq), 10¹⁵¹ spores/g (er), 10¹⁵² spores/g (es), 10¹⁵³ spores/g (et), 10¹⁵⁴ spores/g (eu), 10¹⁵⁵ spores/g (ev), 10¹⁵⁶ spores/g (ew), 10¹⁵⁷ spores/g (ex), 10¹⁵⁸ spores/g (ey), 10¹⁵⁹ spores/g (ez), 10¹⁶⁰ spores/g (fa), 10¹⁶¹ spores/g (fb), 10¹⁶² spores/g (fc), 10¹⁶³ spores/g (fd), 10¹⁶⁴ spores/g (fe), 10¹⁶⁵ spores/g (ff), 10¹⁶⁶ spores/g (fg), 10¹⁶⁷ spores/g (fh), 10¹⁶⁸ spores/g (fi), 10¹⁶⁹ spores/g (fj), 10¹⁷⁰ spores/g (fk), 10¹⁷¹ spores/g (fl), 10¹⁷² spores/g (fm), 10¹⁷³ spores/g (fn), 10¹⁷⁴ spores/g (fo), 10¹⁷⁵ spores/g (fp), 10¹⁷⁶ spores/g (fq), 10¹⁷⁷ spores/g (fr), 10¹⁷⁸ spores/g (fs), 10¹⁷⁹ spores/g (ft), 10¹⁸⁰ spores/g (fu), 10¹⁸¹ spores/g (fv), 10¹⁸² spores/g (fw), 10¹⁸³ spores/g (fx), 10¹⁸⁴ spores/g (fy), 10¹⁸⁵ spores/g (fz), 10¹⁸⁶ spores/g (ga), 10¹⁸⁷ spores/g (gb), 10¹⁸⁸ spores/g (gc), 10¹⁸⁹ spores/g (gd), 10¹⁹⁰ spores/g (ge), 10¹⁹¹ spores/g (gf), 10¹⁹² spores/g (gg), 10¹⁹³ spores/g (gh), 10¹⁹⁴ spores/g (gi), 10¹⁹⁵ spores/g (gj), 10¹⁹⁶ spores/g (gk), 10¹⁹⁷ spores/g (gl), 10¹⁹⁸ spores/g (gm), 10¹⁹⁹ spores/g (gn), 10²⁰⁰ spores/g (go), 10²⁰¹ spores/g (gp), 10²⁰² spores/g (gq), 10²⁰³ spores/g (gr), 10²⁰⁴ spores/g (gs), 10²⁰⁵ spores/g (gt), 10²⁰⁶ spores/g (gu), 10²⁰⁷ spores/g (gv), 10²⁰⁸ spores/g (gw), 10²⁰⁹ spores/g (gx), 10²¹⁰ spores/g (gy), 10²¹¹ spores/g (gz), 10²¹² spores/g (ha), 10²¹³ spores/g (hb), 10²¹⁴ spores/g (hc), 10²¹⁵ spores/g (hd), 10²¹⁶ spores/g (he), 10²¹⁷ spores/g (hf), 10²¹⁸ spores/g (hg), 10²¹⁹ spores/g (hh), 10²²⁰ spores/g (hi), 10²²¹ spores/g (hj), 10²²² spores/g (hk), 10²²³ spores/g (hl), 10²²⁴ spores/g (hm), 10²²⁵ spores/g (hn), 10²²⁶ spores/g (ho), 10²²⁷ spores/g (hp), 10²²⁸ spores/g (hq), 10²²⁹ spores/g (hr), 10²³⁰ spores/g (hs), 10²³¹ spores/g (ht), 10²³² spores/g (hu), 10²³³ spores/g (hv

shrink.²

It was with Mardi, however, which appeared on both sides of the water in the spring of 1849, that Melville uttered his first clear statement on the problems of Negro slavery, nullification and secession. The genre of the philosophic travelogue in which Typee and Omoo were composed had now to be abandoned for a structure complex enough to support the allegorical transcription of the multi-faceted polemic going on all about him. True enough, that structure sometimes seems jerry-built and amorphous, while the allegory--to borrow his own self-criticism--runs to garrulous punning with ideas. Yet Matthiessen's observation, that one "can hardly construct a coherent view of man and society from the many counterstatements"^{2a} made in this book, does not apply to its chapters on the tribe of Hamo and on southern Vivenza. On these subjects Melville's statement is rounded and programmatic--a key to his ante-bellum thinking on the Negro. It is for this reason that Mardi must be examined in some detail.

Mardi exhibits in clear-cut fashion a fairly typical dichotomy in Melville's thought: on the one hand, ruthlessly analytic development of major and minor premises; on the other, mystic and unrelated conclusion. Thus, on the analysis of the

² Thorp, op. cit., p. 390. Melville was right; for Hawthorne's views on slavery and the anti-slavery struggle, see Lawrence Sargent Hall, Hawthorne, Critic of Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944), pp. 147-59 and passim.

^{2a} F.O. Matthiessen, American Renaissance, Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 381.

problem of the Negro and his lot in American society all the chief actors--or talkers--of Mardi agree: Babbalanja, Yoomy, Mohi, Taji (in his role of narrator), even Media the monarchist; and their analysis, grimly factual, is close to that of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. On the solution of that problem--or its impossibility of solution--there is at first a flicker of conflict among the Mardians, then reluctant agreement; but their mystic solution is nearer that of Pierce and Buchanan.

First mention of the problem is made by Babbalanja, the philosopher, rather late in the book in the course of one of the lengthy conversations: "At bottom we are already equal, my honored lord," he remarks to Media--"One way we all came into Mardi, and one way we withdraw...." It is an echo of the Parkman chastisement: "We are all of us...made in one image." As the party approaches the eastern shores of Vivenza (the United States) they descry among the billows of the lagoon "an open temple of canes, containing one only image, that of a helmeted female, the tutelary deity of Vivenza"--an uncanny premonition of Crawford's helmeted Armed Liberty, to be installed on the dome^{of} the Capitol a decade later on the eve of war.³ "Lo! what inscription is that," cries Media, "there,

³ Since the United States government commissioned Crawford to produce this figure in 1855, Melville could not have known anything about it at the time of writing Mardi. It is curious to note that Jefferson Davis, who was Secretary of War at the time, vigorously championed the helmet design

chiseled over the arch?" The antiquarian, Mohi, after studying the hieroglyphics, translates slowly: "In-this-republican-land-all-men-are-born-free-and-equal." "False," cries Media. "And how long stay they so?" inquires the cynical Babbalanja. "But look lower, old man," continues Media, "methinks there's a small hieroglyphic or two hidden away in yonder angle-- Interpret them, old man." Mohi translates slowly again: "Except-for-the-tribe-of-Hamo." Media is aghast. "That nullifies the other," he cries; "Ah, ye republicans!" Comments Mohi: "It seems to have been added for a postscript." Concludes Babbalanja: "Some wag must have done it."⁴

But there is nothing waggish in this analysis of American society, whose warrior goddess condones slavery and whose flag is striped with the mark of Cain. The travelers visit the Great Central Temple of Vivenza (the Capitol) and as they draw near, they see "a man with a collar round his neck, and the red marks of stripes upon his back...just in the act of hoisting a tappa standard--correspondingly striped," while other

over the wreath design also submitted. "Why should not armed liberty have a helmet?" he wrote to the engineer in charge. In an exchange of letters in 1864 on the subject of removing the helmet T.U. Walter, architect of the U.S. Capitol Extension, agreed with J. H. Rice, chairman of the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, that the helmet had always been a "very objectionable feature of the figure." (Thomas Hicks, Eulogy on Thomas Crawford [New York: Privately Printed for Subscribers, 1865], pp. 83-85, 92). One also thinks of Bartholdi's bronze goddess (with spiked helmet, crown of thorns, or halo, depending on one's point of view) who, long after Mardi was written, perched herself on Bedloe's Island.

⁴ Melville, Romances, pp. 642, 659.

"collared menials" walk in and out of the temple; and near the porch, on the pedestal of another statue of the tutelar deity are pasted "hieroglyphical notices...offering rewards for missing men, so many hands high." Among the teeth-picking, tobacco-chewing-and-spitting, fat-bellied, nodding-and-napping law-makers of the Congress, they note "the calm grand forehead" of Saturnina (Webster).⁵

Leaving Washington, they turn their canoes northward and put in at New York, where news of the revolution in Franko (France) is being greeted with jubilee and hosanna.⁶ Into all this, Taji-Melville injects a warning note. Republics have risen and fallen; often they have turned into their opposites; democracies sometimes produce despotisms. Let those who dance around Franko's liberty-pole study their own history. Grown now is the bold boy who threw off the bonds of the Royal Brute. But the "maxims once trampled underfoot, are now printed on his front; and he who hated oppressors, is become an oppressor himself." The stripes are on the flag; "the state that to-day is made up of slaves can not to-morrow transmute her bond into

⁵ Ibid., p. 660. Webster had not yet made his Seventh of March speech (1850), which sacrificed the body of the slave to the prosperity of the merchant. Hawthorne's analysis of the Great Dan'l in "The Great Stone Face" of The Snow Image volume of 1851 was more incisive.

⁶ Melville no doubt listened to William Cullen Bryant speaking enthusiastically of the second French republic. (Van Wyck Brooks, The Times of Melville and Whitman [New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1947], p. 135).

free....Names make no distinctions; some despots rule without swaying scepters. Though King Bello's [England's] palace was not put together by yoked men; your federal temple of freedom... was the handiwork of slaves." And now, what seemed in the "Old Zack" articles shallow and facetious opportunism, is replaced by an indictment of the Mexican War: although the President [Polk] "may not declare war of himself; nevertheless, has he done a still more imperial thing:--gone to war without declaring intention. You yourselves were precipitated upon a neighboring nation [Mexico], ere you knew your spears were in your hands."⁷

Thus far Melville has traveled the same analytical road as Garrison and Phillips. Now, as he approaches the solution of Hamo's problem; the road forks and they part company. Whereas the abolitionists are basically, optimistic actionists, "idea-of-progress," practical politicians, recusant reformers willing to suffer for their cause--to Melville, the "deep-diver," it is all hopeless, hopeless. His word is gloomy, fatalist, quietist. What he offers as solution is a broad, social application of the innate-depravity, mystery-of-iniquity theory that is at the center of Billy Budd. Evil and injustice are in the nature of man. "For, assuming that Mardi is wiser than of old; nevertheless, though all men approached sages in intelligence, some would yet be more wise than others; and so,

⁷ Melville, Romances, pp. 666-67.

the old degrees be preserved. And no exemption would an equality of knowledge furnish, from the inbred servility of mortal to mortal; from all the organic causes, which inevitably divide mankind into brigades and battalions, with captains at their head....And though all evils may be assuaged; all evils cannot be done away. For evil is the chronic malady of the universe; and checked in one place, breaks forth in another." Evil is an Energy which is, which can neither be created nor destroyed. Thus Taji-Melville's metaphysical advice--a kind of special and comfortless application of the Law of the Conservation of Matter to abolitionist evangel and beaten slave. The problem cannot be solved, and, "though far and wide to keep equal pace with the times, great reforms, of a verity be needed; nowhere are bloody revolutions required...." What the outcome will be "must be left to the commentators on Mardi some four or five hundred centuries hence."⁸

Yet Mardi has more than this to say on the question. Hopeless in solution Melville may be, but in analysis he is incisive and stubborn. The travelers now embark for the extreme south of Vivenza, where, they are warned, they will see much "repulsive to strangers." It is inhabited by a "fiery and intractable" race, who have sworn "that if the northern tribes persisted in inter-meddlings, they would dissolve the common alliance, and establish a distinct confederacy among themselves."

⁸ Ibid., p. 668.

They arrive; the region seems another land, less thriving, less cheerful. "Here labor has lost his laugh!" cries Yoomy. On a great plain hundreds of collared slaves, with slave-drivers, lash in hand, poised over them, toil in the fields. "Are these men?" Babbalanja asks. "Which mean you?" replies Mohi.⁹

One slavedriver, "the foremost of those with the thongs," Nulli [Calhoun] -- "a cadaverous, ghost-like man" -- is questioned by Babbalanja. "Have they souls," he asks. "No," answers Nulli, "their ancestors may have had; but their souls have been bred out of their descendants; as the instinct of scent is killed in pointers." Media and Mohi refuse to believe him. "What are thou," says Babbalanja to a slave. "Dost ever feel in thee a sense of right or wrong.... They tell us thou art not a man..say, whether thou beliest thy Maker." The slave replies proudly in Blakeian accents: "Speak not of my Maker to me. Under the lash, I believe my masters, and account myself a brute; but in my dreams, bethink myself an angel. But I am bond; and my little ones; -- thir mother's milk is gall." It is too much for Yoomy. "Just Oro!" he exclaims, "do no thunders roll, -- no lightnings flash in this accursed land!" Cries Media: "Asylum for all Mardi's thralls!"¹⁰

"Incendiaries!" screams Nulli, as he proceeds forthwith to the Calhounian argument. The serfs, incited to liberty,

⁹ Ibid., p. 669.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 670.

will wreak dreadful vengeance. Go back to your Northern wage-slaves, who are worse off than these who are fed regularly. The black slaves "have no thoughts, no cares...they shed no tears." Babbalanja replies: "Thoughts and cares are life, and liberty, and immortality!...Oro!...It shakes my little faith." Nulli will not be stilled. "Peace, fanatic!" he cries. "Who else may till unwholesome fields... 'tis right and righteous! Maramma [the Church] champions it."¹¹ Meddle--and the union

¹¹ "The curse of Noah upon Ham had a general and interminable application for the whole Hamite race, in placing them under a peculiar liability of being enslaved by the races of the two other brothers." (Cited by Brown, op. cit., p. 181, from Josiah Priest's Bible Defence of Slavery [Glasgow, Kentucky: W.S. Brown, 1851], p. 52). In 1844 the slavery controversy forced a split in the Baptist and Methodist Churches. "The ministers supported slavery, citing scripture for it, professors acclaimed and extolled it, citing the classics, and more and more boldly the leaders of thought in the South defended the principle of caste and the law of force." (Brooks, op. cit., p. 50). The defense of slavery by the Southern clergy is discussed in some detail in H. Richard Niebuhr's The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Henry Holt, 1929), pp. 190-99. Nulli's philosophy received an ambitious versification some years later in Timrod's "Ethnogenesis, written during the Meeting of the First Southern Congress at Montgomery, February, 1861," (Poems of Henry Timrod [Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1899], pp. 152-3), from which the following lines are taken:

On one side, creeds that dare to teach
 What Christ and Paul refrained to preach;
 Codes built upon a broken pledge,
 And Charity that whets a poniard's edge;
 Fair schemes that leave the neighboring poor
 To starve and shiver at the schemer's door,
 While in the world's most liberal ranks enrolled,
 He turns some vast philanthropy to gold;
 Religion, taking every mortal form
 But that a pure and Christian faith makes warm
 Where not to vile fanatic passion urged,
 Or not in vague philosophies submerged,
 Repulsive with all Pharisaic leaven,
 And making laws to stay the laws of Heaven.

of Vivenza will be dissolved! When King Media dissents, Nulli threatens him with the dungeon.

Thus again--illuminating analysis of men and events. But what of the path out of the jungle? "Pray, heaven, they may yet find a way to loose their bonds without one drop of blood," cries Yoomy. "But hear me, Oro! were there no other way, and should their masters not relent, all honest hearts must cheer this tribe of Hamo on" though the blood run; "'tis right to fight for freedom whoever be the thrall." It is here that Babbalanja, for whom, like Ishmael, the "plain things" are "the knottiest of all," enters his crucial dissent: Oro does not always champion the right; the philosopher's sympathy is as hot as Yoomy's, but for these serfs he would not cross spears. "Better present woes for some, than future woes for all...." Yoomy readily--too readily--agrees: it is perhaps not necessary to risk a fight for the immediate liberation of Hamo; a way may be found without violence and irretrievable evil. But neither Taji, nor Media, nor Mohi, nor Babbalanja--nor Melville--knows what that way may be.

Babbalanja is honest enough to see where his metaphysics have led him; the weeping voices of the traveling Mardians now "all but echo hard-hearted Nulli." But what can one do? Humanity is at an impasse; it cries out against slavery, yet, "not one man knows a prudent remedy." A rationalization begins: the North is not to be blamed; the slave-owners of the South must be wisely judged, "for, before they became

responsible as a nation, slavery was planted root-deep in their midst." The rationalization develops: not all slaves are as wretched as Nulli's; some even seem happy, although, Babbalanja is quick to add, "not as men." Even if it is conceded that throughout the South "custom backs the sense of wrong," Nulli stands alone in "his insensate creed." Nevertheless, although Melville proclaims the complexity and insolubility of the problem, he is too honest to deny the damnable, unvenial sin. In Timonesque terms, as if to atone for guilt of conscience in condoning its continuance, slavery is termed "a blot, foul as the crater-pool of hell." No matter how penitent, the slavemaster shall "die despairing; and live again, to die forever damned."¹²

The final word is mystic effusion, which, reduced to matter of fact, amounts to abandonment of the slave to his bondage: "methinks the great laggard time must now march up apace," muses Babbalanja, "and somehow befriend these thralls. It can not be, that misery is perpetually entailed....Yes:

¹² Melville was very near to James Fenimore Cooper on the "practical" aspects of abolition: "...to the Southerner it offered a question of the highest practical importance, and one that, mis-managed, might entirely subvert the order of his social organization." Compare their attitudes with Poe's easy view of the matter: "...we must take into consideration the peculiar character (I may say the peculiar nature) of the Negro ...[Some believe that Negroes] are, like ourselves, the sons of Adam and must, therefore, have like passions and wants and feelings and tempers in all respects. This we deny and appeal to the knowledge of all who know..." (Brown, op. cit., p. 182).

Time--all-healing Time--Time, great Philanthropist!--Time must befriend these thralls!" "Oro grant it!" prays Yoomy, "and let Mardi say, amen!"¹³

¹³ Melville, Romances, pp. 669-72. Melville's effusive solution is similar to Hawthorne's as stated in the latter's campaign biography of Franklin Pierce, wherein it is written that slavery is "one of those evils which divine providence does not leave to be remedied by human contrivances, but which, in its own good time, by some means impossible to be anticipated,...it causes to vanish like a dream." The contradiction between bold, realistic analysis and timid, unrealistic solution--Melville's personal "irrepressible conflict" that lay at the center of his thought--may be observed in another of his novels published in the same year as Mardi. "As a man-of-war that sails through the sea," he writes in White-Jacket, "so this earth that sails through the air." Oppressed by "illiberal laws, and partly oppressed by themselves, many of our people are wicked, unhappy, inefficient." Nevertheless, among them are gallant seamen, "who well treated or ill, still trim our craft to the mast." Yet the Articles of War "form our domineering code" and "we the people suffer many abuses," with our "gun-deck full of complaints." To whom shall the people turn? asks Melville. "In vain from Lieutenants do we appeal to the Captain; in vain...to the indefinite Navy Commissioners." The worst of our evils "we blindly inflict upon ourselves; our officers cannot remove them, even if they would. From the last ills no being can save another; therein each man must be his own saviour." What can--what, then, should be done? "For the rest, whatever befall us, let us never train our murderous guns inboard; let us not mutiny with bloody pikes in our hands." Well and good--but the solution? It is the Mardian one: "Our Lord High Admiral will yet interpose; and though long ages should elapse, and leave our wrongs undressed, yet, shipmates and world-mates! let us never forget that

Whoever afflict us, whatever surround,
Life is a voyage that's homeward bound.

Thus, White-Jacket's counsel in its concluding lines--startling for its mystic quietism in a work which seemed at first so fiery and Garrisonian in its deadly catalogue of grievance and which undoubtedly contributed to the abolition of flogging on the high seas. (Melville, White-Jacket, pp. 232-3).

But Melville, restless with his own counsel, cannot as yet say amen. He has little in aid to offer, but the sin of slavery haunts him. As the party cruises up the coast of western Hamora [Africa], Yoomy cannot forget the horrors of the south of Vivenza: "Poor land!" he cries to Hamora, "curst of man, not Oro! how thou faintest for thy children, torn from thy soil, to till a stranger's. Vivenza! did these winds not spend their complaints, ere reaching thee, thy every vale would echo them. Oh, tribe of Hamo! thy cup of woe so brims, that soon it must overflow upon the land which holds ye thrall.... No misery born of crime, but spreads and poisons wide. Suffering hunteth sin, as the gaunt hound the hare, and tears it in the greenest brakes...." A storm arises, bursting its thousand bombs. And Babbalanja, who has given the Slave to Time, bows to the blast with a foreboding that the Slave cannot wait: "Thus, oh Vivenza! retribution works! Though long delayed, it comes at last--Judgment, with all her bolts." In Serenia, where the spirit of Alma [Christ] rules, and where perhaps men live, "who breathe that unshackled democratic spirit of Christianity in all things," Babbalanja remains, while the others go on. What would happen--he speculates--if Alma returned to Vivenza and to the other nations of Mardi: "as an intruder he came; and an intruder would he be this day. On all sides would he jar our social systems." Is it this jar that Melville is afraid of? Is it the fear of turbulent change in "our social system" that persuades him to counsel patience

to the scourged slave? Is his preachment, in effect, anything more than the craven doctrine that the fears of the oppressors measure the rights of the oppressed?¹⁴

If Melville believed that Mardi would shock the country or the world, he was wrong. Although, as one critic points out, in "Mardi, Melville showed more discontent with the universe than Emerson expressed in all his published work,"¹⁵ the reviewers could not altogether adapt themselves to this teller of romantic travel-stories turned allegorical satirist. The British press was frankly puzzled. While Blackwood's dismissed it as "trash"--easy to understand as the "Panjandrum story,"--the London Athenaeum "cut into" it, as Melville put it, terming it a keyless allegory penned in a style of "many madresses" and containing "nothing more poignant than the vapid philosophy of Mr. Fenimore Cooper's 'Monikins.'"¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 682, 727. The Civil War, of course, has not yet ended; partisans in all degrees still fight its ideological battles on many fronts. Stephen A. Larrabee's view that Melville's "humanity" in Mardi is evident in his recognition of the Southern position in regard to slavery ("Melville Against the World," South Atlantic Quarterly, XXXIV October, 1935, 416) is concurred in by William Braswell, who writes that Melville's attitude toward the South in Mardi "is, on the whole, intelligent and wise." (William Braswell, "Herman Melville and Christianity" Doctor's dissertation, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1934, p. 85).

¹⁵ William Braswell, "Melville as a Critic of Emerson," American Literature, IX (November, 1937), 318.

¹⁶ Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, LXVI (August, 1849), 172-3; The Athenaeum, No. 117 (March 24, 1849), 296-7.

The Examiner parted from "Mr. Melville in as good humour as his former books" had always left them and the Literary Gazette, perplexed by the book, nevertheless thought the adventure in it "superb."¹⁷

In America, its reception was more definite. Although in the Boston Post, according to Melville, it was "burnt by the common hangman,"¹⁸ the United States Magazine, observing that the critics "who do notices for the book table on a large scale" had failed to see in it "an allegory that mirrors the world," gave it a seven-page review and compared it favorably to Pilgrim's Progress and Gulliver's Travels. The reviewer, however, dissented from the author's conclusions. After noting that Mardi contained "some tough lessons for politicians and republicans" and astringent chapters for "gold-hunter, surgeons and slave-holders," he nevertheless deplored the fact that Melville seemed to think that the human race was "in a vicious circle, from which we cannot escape--that what has been must be again."¹⁹ The critic for the politically sensitive Southern Quarterly Review, reading the "monotonous" allegory without difficulty, opined that Melville spoiled "everything for the Southern reader" when he painted "a

¹⁷ Literary Gazette, No. 1679 (March 24, 1849), 203.

¹⁸ Weaver, op. cit., p. 274.

¹⁹ United States Magazine and Democratic Review, XXV (July, 1849), 49-50.

The Journal dated from the 1st. of the month of June 1861, in
which it is stated that the Journal had been published for the first
time by the Journal. The Journal is published for the first time
in 1861.

In 1861, the Journal was published for the first time. It is
in the Journal, according to the Journal, and the Journal is
the Journal, and the Journal is published for the first time.

The Journal is published for the first time in 1861. It is
the Journal, and the Journal is published for the first time
in 1861. The Journal is published for the first time in 1861.

The Journal is published for the first time in 1861. It is
the Journal, and the Journal is published for the first time
in 1861.

The Journal is published for the first time in 1861. It is
the Journal, and the Journal is published for the first time
in 1861. The Journal is published for the first time in 1861.
The Journal is published for the first time in 1861. It is
the Journal, and the Journal is published for the first time
in 1861.

The Journal is published for the first time in 1861. It is
the Journal, and the Journal is published for the first time
in 1861. The Journal is published for the first time in 1861.
The Journal is published for the first time in 1861. It is
the Journal, and the Journal is published for the first time
in 1861.

The Journal is published for the first time in 1861. It is
the Journal, and the Journal is published for the first time
in 1861. The Journal is published for the first time in 1861.
The Journal is published for the first time in 1861. It is
the Journal, and the Journal is published for the first time
in 1861.

loathsome picture of Mr. Calhoun, in the character of a slave driver, drawing mixed blood and tears from the victim at every stroke of the whip."²⁰ To his father-in-law in Boston, Melville, paraphrasing the invocation of Babbalanja, wrote that "Time, which is the solver of all riddles, will solve 'Mardi.'"²¹

²⁰ Southern Quarterly Review, XXXI (October, 1849), 261.

²¹ Melville Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Am 188, Herman Melville to Lemuel Shaw, June 23, 1849.

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..
... ..

CHAPTER IV

LOOKING BACKWARD

The year 1849 was a bumper one for Melville. Not only Mardi came off the press, but also Redburn and White-Jacket. Redburn, in part undoubtedly autobiographical, has been touched on some pages back, where it provided a few items of information about Melville's youthful experience with the Negro aboard a merchantman and in the city of Liverpool. Recalling these experiences a dozen years later, the Mardian philosopher has a few comments to make on them. With indignation he looks back on that "Miserable dog's life" of the sea-- "commanded like a slave, and set to work like an ass! vulgar and brutal men lording it over me, as if I were an African in Alabama."¹ Still retaining a sense of sympathy and kinship with those German emigrants he saw herded together like cattle in the New York ships, he soars into an eloquent Whitmanesque passage: "There is something in the contemplation of the mode in which America has been settled, that, in a noble breast, should forever extinguish the prejudices of national dislikesYou can not spill a drop of American blood without spilling the blood of the whole world....We are not a narrow tribe of men, with a bigoted Hebrew nationality--whose blood has been

¹ Melville, Romances, p. 1509.

debased in the attempt to enoble it, by maintaining an exclusive succession among ourselves. No! our blood is as the flood of the Amazon, made up of a thousand noble currents all pouring into one federated whole: there is a future which shall see the estranged children of Adam restored as to the hearthstone in Eden....The seed is sown, and the harvest must come; and our children's children, on the world's jubilee morning, shall all go with their sickles to the reaping... Frenchmen and Danes, and Scots; and the dwellers on the shores of the Mediterranean, and in the regions round about; Italians, and Indians, and Moors: there shall appear unto them cloven tongues as of fire."²

Recalling "the looks of interest with which negro sailors are regarded when they walk the Liverpool streets," he notes that in "Liverpool indeed the negro steps with a prouder pace, and lifts his head like a man; for here, no such exaggerated feeling exists in respect to him, as in America." Remembering his impression of the Highlander's black steward walking arm in arm with a comely Englishwoman, he observes bitterly: "In New York, such a couple would have been mobbed in three minutes; and the steward would have been lucky to escape with whole limbs. Owing to the friendly reception extended to them, and the unwonted immunities they enjoy in Liverpool, the black

² Ibid., pp. 1562-63. A bit of Anglophilism that creeps in here somewhat vitiates the effect: "Then shall the curse of Babel be revoked, a new Pentecost come and the language they shall speak shall be the language of Britain."

cooks and stewards of American ships are very much attached to the place and like to make voyages to it." Local and social prejudice of the kind displayed in New York, he remarks, are "the marring of most men"; and "for the mass [it is the tone of Mardian fatalism] there seems no possible escape." Too often is civilization a coach whose wheels are the lower classes. In some things, he concludes, "we Americans leave to other countries the carrying out of the principle that stands at the head of our Declaration of Independence."³

White-Jacket, in its long muster of characters, has seven Negroes: a traditional cook and his three galley helpers; the purser's slave; an old sheet-anchor man; and the captain of a gun. The treatment of the cook, "a dignified coloured gentleman, whom the men dubbed 'Old Coffee'"; and his assistants, who "went by the poetical appellations" of Sunshine, Rose-water and May-day, is, in the main, in that condescending and facetious vein which runs through much of Melville's work up to the Civil War.

Old Coffee, the ship's cook, has been met before in Redburn and Omoo, and will be again, somewhat transfigured, in

³ Ibid., p. 1575. Of Redburn and White-Jacket, Melville said: "In writing these two books I have not repressed myself much--so far as they are concerned, but have spoken pretty much as I feel." (Olson, op. cit., p. 37). In the Duyckinck Collection is a scrap of paper with the following scrawled on it in Melville's hand: "London. Go to Greenwich Hospital in the morning so as to see the pensioners [?] at dinner. (An American [sic] negro is among them)." The scrap is marked "Memorandum by A.J. Parker" and has been dated June, 1853 by an unknown hand.

Moby-Dick. As usual he is the "high and mighty functionary" of the galley--ancient, shambling, pathetic, the goat of practical jokes. On the Neversink, the only way that a sailor, after preparing his dunderfunk, could get it cooked, was by slyly going to Old Coffee and bribing him to put it into his oven. "And as some such dishes or other are will known to be all the time in the oven, a set of unprincipled gourmands are constantly on the look-out for the chance of stealing them. Generally, two or three league together, and while one engages Old Coffee in some interesting conversation touching his wife and family at home, another snatches the first thing he can lay hands on in the oven, and rapidly passes it to the third man, who at his earliest leisure disappears with it." Sunshine is the bard of the galley; while soap-stone busily clattered against metal, "he would exhilarate them with some remarkable St. Domingo melodies," one of which Melville goes to the trouble to record.⁴ How jolly these Africans are, "making

4

Oh! I los' my shoe in an old canoe,
 Johnio! come Winum so!
 Oh! I los' my boot in a pilot-boat,
 Johnio! come Winum so!
 Den rub-dub de copper, oh!
 Oh! copper rob-a-dub-a oh!

(Melville, White-Jacket, p. 127). I have so far been unable to determine whether Melville saw this work-song in print or picked it up by ear. In Moby-Dick, chattering Pip, in one of his wild monologues, garbles snatches of the minstrel song, "Old King Crow." (Melville, Moby-Dick, p. 408).

gleeful their toil by their cheering songs," thinks Melville.⁵ When it is discovered that through an oversight in supplying her, the Neversink, will issue no rum on the Fourth of July, it is Sunshine who blubbers, "No grog on de day dat tried men's souls!"

Less facetious is Melville's account of the remaining two galley helpers, Rose-water and May-day, in the delineation of whom, the brutality of both Captain Claret and the flogging system are pointed up and related to the special degradation

⁵ Melville, White-Jacket, pp. 57-8. In Moby-Dick, Melville utters the same thought: Negroes are "a tribe, which ever enjoy all holidays and fastivities with finer, freer relish than any other race. For blacks, the year's calendar should show naught but three hundred and sixty-five Fourth of Julys and New Year's Days." (p. 387). Samuel Leech, in his Thirty Years from Home, or A Voice from the Main Deck (Boston: Charles Tappan, 1844), probably a source for Moby-Dick, had perhaps a deeper insight into Negro and sailor song when he wrote: "A casual visitor in a man of war, beholding the song, the dance, the reveling of the crew, might judge them to be happy. But I know that these things are often resorted to, because they fell miserable, just to drive away dull care. They do it on the same principle as the slave population in the South, to drown in sensual gratification the voice of misery that groans in the inner man--that lives within, speaking of the indignity offered to its high nature by the chain that eats beyond the flesh--discoursing of the rights of man, of liberty on the free hills of a happier clime...." (p. 74). Melville was conscious of this well-spring of song in the sailor (both in White-Jacket and Billy Budd he is critical of the ditty-writer, Dibden) but oblivious to it in the Negro. Leech, a simple man, but having fundamental insight into his own experience, had deep sympathy for the Negro seaman. One anecdote he tells of "a colored man" named Nugent, "who possessed a remarkably fine person, was very intelligent, exceedingly polite in his manners, and easy in his address." Nugent "soon grew weary of the caprices of our officers, and ran away." His recapture is reminiscent of Jack Chase's recapture in White-Jacket--an officer picked him up with a spy-glass on another vessel. As with Chase, Nugent "by some fortunate chance...escaped a flogging." (Ibid., pp. 75, 76).

of the Negro. Claret was an enthusiast of the sadistic sport known as "head-bumping," which, as patronized by him, required "two negroes (whites will not answer) butting at each other like rams." In the dog-watches, "Rose-water and May-day were repeatedly summoned into the lee waist to tilt at each other, for the benefit of the Captain's health. May-day was a full-blooded 'bull-negro,' so the sailors called him, with a skull like an iron tea-kettle, wherefore May-day much fancied the sport. But Rose-water, he was a slender and rather handsome mulatto; and abhorred the pastime." But the Captain's word was law and the cruel game had to be played.

"I used to pity poor Rose-water from the bottom of my heart," says Melville. "But my pity was almost aroused into indignation at a sad sequel to one of these gladiatorial scenes." Goaded on by the admiration of Claret, stupid May-day "had begun to despise Rose-water as a poltroon--a fellow all brains and no skull; whereas he himself was a great warrior, all skull and no brains." When May-day tells Rose-water that he considers him a "'nigger,' which, among some blacks, is held a great term of reproach" [and which, incidentally is a word Melville never uses], fired at the insult, the mulatto gives his torturer to understand that "his mother, a black slave, had been one of the mistresses of a Virginia planter belonging to one of the oldest families in that State." Another insulting remark follows "this innocent disclosure" and blows are exchanged. When Master-At-Arms Bland, a forerunner

of Billy Budd's Claggart and the wickedest character on board, hauls them before Claret, "poor Rose-water" defends himself: "Please, Sir, it all came of dat 'ar bumping; May-day, here aggravated me 'bout it." The Captain shows no mercy. "I'll teach you two men," he replies, "that, though I now and then permit you to play, I will have no fighting." And the Negroes are flogged. "Justice commands," observes Melville ironically, "that the fact of the Captain's not showing any leniency to May-day--a decided favorite of his, at least while in the ring--should not be passed over. He flogged both culprits in the most impartial manner."

The incident seems to have made a deep impression on young Melville, deepening his hatred of the institution of the scourge. "Poor mulatto! thought I, one of an oppressed race, they degrade you like a hound. Thank God! I am a white. Yet I had seen whites also scourged; for black or white, all my shipmates were liable to that." And then comes analysis in the trenchant spirit of Mardi and Redburn: "Still, there is something in us, somehow, that in the most degraded condition, we snatch at a chance to deceive ourselves into a fancied superiority to others, whom we suppose lower in the scale than ourselves,"--followed by the quietist fatalism of those same books: "Poor Rose-water! thought I; poor mulatto! Heaven send you a release from your humiliation!"⁶

⁶ Melville, White-Jacket, pp. 258-60. Describing a flogging towards the beginning of the book, Melville had written: "You see a human being, stripped like a slave; scourged worse than a hound." (p. 132).

If in his delineation of the galley-crew, Melville ranges from patronization and stock-treatment to tender sympathy, there are two Negro characters on board the Neversink who evoke in him complete and uncondescending admiration. The first, Melville's superior at battle-stations, is the captain of Gun No. 5--"a fine negro"--in honor of whose "sweetheart, a coloured lady of Philadelphia," the gun's crew had christened the carronade, Black Bet. "Of Black Bet," says Melville, "I was rammer-and-sponger; and ram and sponge I did, like a good fellow." The second was "an old negro, who went by the name of Tawney, a sheet-anchor man, whom we often invited into our top of tranquil nights, to hear him discourse. He was a staid and sober seaman, very intelligent, with a fine, frank bearing, one of the best men in the ship, and held in high estimation by every one." From Tawney--"and he was a truth-telling man"--Melville got the "inside narrative" of the capture of the Macedonian by the United States during the War of 1812, for the Negro gunner had been an American sailor impressed by the British warship out of a New England merchantman.⁷ When the British warship came to close quarters with the United States he had been one of those who had protested to the captain of the Macedonian "that it was a most bitter thing to lift their hands against the flag of that country which harboured the

⁷ Cf. Billy Budd's impressment by H.M.S. Indomitable out of the English merchantman, Rights-of-Man. (Melville, Shorter Novels, p. 231).

mothers that bore them." The answer had been a pistol at their heads. The Negro had many "stories to tell of this fight and frequently he would escort me along our main-deck batteries--still mounting the same guns used in the battle--pointing out their ineffaceable identations and scars."⁸ The incident is exploited in a later novel by Melville where Israel Potter finds himself in the same equivocal position.

The story of White-Jacket's seventh Negro character--Guinea, the purser's Negro slave aboard the Neversink--is valuable as showing an experiential basis for a point of view which reaches full development in Melville's Civil War poetry and prose of the Battle-Pieces volume. Mardi gave a passing glimpse of it, when Babbalanja, decrying a violent solution of the slave-question, pointed out that in southern Vivenza not all serfs were "wretched as those we saw"; that, "of all

⁸ Melville, White-Jacket, pp. 67, 293, 296. Leech's account (op. cit., pp. 127-8.) of the engagement squares with Melville's in general outline, although as C.R. Anderson writes, "There is no external evidence that Melville read Leech's Thirty Years from Home, or A Voice from the Main Deck, but it is a reasonably safe guess that he did." (Op. cit., p. 393). Tawney's specific actuality is so far undetermined, but whether he is fact or fiction, his treatment in White-Jacket reveals a significant attitude held by Melville (and by the crew) towards a veteran Negro sailor. Negro sailors played an important part in the sea-battles of the War of 1812. One-tenth of the men in the crews of the Upper Lakes were Negroes who occupied a variety of ranks without discrimination. Commodore Chauncey stated that the fifty Negroes on Perry's ship were the best men he had ever sailed with and Perry himself praised highly the valor of the Negro sailors in the Battle of Lake Erie. (John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom [Little, Brown and Co., 1947], pp. 182-85).

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

the south, Nulli must stand alone in his insensate creed." On board the Neversink was a "good" slave-holder.

Not many years ago, writes Melville in White-Jacket, "black slaves were frequently to be found regularly enlisted with the crew of an American frigate, their masters receiving their pay. This was in the teeth of a law of Congress expressly prohibiting slaves in the Navy. This law, indirectly, means black slaves, nothing being said concerning white ones." On board the Neversink, there was a Virginian slave, dubbed Guinea by the crew, regularly shipped as a seaman, but employed as a body servant by his owner, a "Southern Gentleman," who received the slave's wages.⁹ Guinea, "circulating freely about the decks in citizen's clothes, and through the influence of his master, entirely exempted from the disciplinary degradation of the Caucasian crew," fared "sumptuously in the ward-room; sleek and round, his ebon face fairly polished with content: ever gay and hilarious; ever ready to laugh and joke." That African slave, writes Melville, was actually envied by many of the seamen. "There were times when I almost envied

⁹ This arrangement, which Leech also observed aboard the United States in 1813 (op. cit., p. 155.), had been common practice since early colonial days, although usually the master simply rented the slave out and did not accompany him. Thus, in 1702, Samuel Lynde of Boston hired out his Negro slave to serve as cook aboard a privateer in Queen Anne's War and was paid one full share of the prizes taken by the ship. (Greene, op. cit., p. 121).

[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]

him myself. Lemsford [the poet] once envied him outright, 'Ah, Guinea!' he sighed, 'you have peaceful times; you never opened the book I read in!' He was the only person on board, except the hospital-steward and the invalids of the sick-bay, "who was exempted from being present at the administering of the scourge," and, though a bondsman, liable to be saddled with a mortgage, like a horse--Guinea, in India-rubber manacles, enjoyed the liberties of the world."¹⁰

It is the description of Guinea's master, however, that is here significant, for in it may be discovered an aspect of Melville's feeling about the "good" Southerner, the "Southern Gentleman," that will greatly influence his attitude towards Reconstruction years later. C.R. Anderson's researches have established the reality of this purser--a Virginian gentleman, Edward Fitzgerald, by name--whose slave, Robert Lucas, had been received on board by special permission of the Secretary of the Navy before the United States sailed from Norfolk.¹¹ Although the purser "never in any way individualised me while

¹⁰ Melville, White-Jacket, p.265.

¹¹ Anderson says: Lucas "had been a component part of the crew, however, and not in any way subject to his master except in the claim of the latter for his wages." (Melville in the South Seas, p. 432). In view of the special permission required to overcome the legislation prohibiting such practice, one can readily see that the Secretary would hesitate to authorize the purser a bond-servant, who, in addition to serving his master, would turn over to him the wages paid by the Navy for that service. In view, also, of Melville's probable knowledge of the Lucas case through his future father-in-law, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, his description of Guinea's duties aboard ship is to be preferred to Anderson's.

100

I served on board the frigate,"¹² writes Melville, "and never did me a good office of any kind (it was hardly in his power), yet from his pleasant, kind, indulgent manner toward his slave, I always imputed to him a generous heart, and cherished an involuntary friendliness toward him. Upon our arrival home, his treatment of Guinea, under circumstances peculiarly calculated to stir up the resentment of a slave-owner, still more augmented my estimation of the Purser's good heart."¹³ Elsewhere in White-Jacket during one of the discussions of flogging, Melville again refers to the "good heart" of another Southern Gentleman: "The chivalric Virginian, John Randolph of Roanoke,

¹² It is quite possible that Melville after debarking at Boston met Fitzgerald through Chief Justice Shaw. It is altogether probable that even if Melville did not meet Fitzgerald, he had discussed the Lucas case with Shaw, who shortly after became the dedicatee of Typee. Was Melville thinking of the purser and his slave, when in discussing Pierre's ability to have authorship support him, he wrote: "...letting his body stay lazily at home, send off his soul to labor, and his soul would come faithfully back and pay his body her wages. So, some unprofessional gentlemen of the aristocratic South, who happen to own slaves, give those slaves liberty to go and seek work, and every night return with their wages, which constitute those idle gentlemen's income." (Melville, Pierre, p. 290).

¹³ Anderson explains what Melville had in mind here. When the United States docked at Boston in October 1844, Lucas, considered a landsman on the ship, had been delivered up to the civil authorities, on a writ of Habeas Corpus. "At the suit of some Abolitionists," writes Anderson, "without the knowledge or authority of Lucas, he was granted his freedom on October 11, 1844, on the ground that he had been brought into a free state by his master 'voluntarily,' although the original sailing orders of the United States gave Norfolk as the port of return. The decision, which restricted the application of the Fugitive Slave Law, was rendered by Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw.... In giving his opinion...the Chief Justice said that Fitzgerald had acted honorably in the transaction, disclosing all the facts in the case with entire frankness, and had even agreed that, whatever the decision of the court might be, Lucas should

I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you.

I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you.

I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you.

declared, in his place in Congress, that on board of the American man-of-war that carried him out Ambassador to Russia he had witnessed more flogging than had taken place on his own plantation of five hundred African slaves in ten years...." It is at this point that Melville notes that "American men-of-war's men have often observed, that the Lieutenants from the Southern States, the descendants of the old Virginians, are much less severe, and much more gentle and gentlemanly in command, than the Northern officers, as a class."¹⁴ Perhaps, Melville forgot here, or did not know, that Captain Claret [Armstrong] was a stalwart Kentuckian.¹⁵

be left free to act according to his own wishes, either to return to Virginia or to remain in a free state, as he might elect." The sentiment in Anderson's concluding note on the case--"Here was an instance of a kind master deprived of a contented slave by the intermeddling of Abolitionists"--is not to be attributed to Melville. Whether Lucas was "contented" is unknown; whether he returned with the purser to Virginia (this would be a test of the slave's contentedness) is also unknown. Anderson's further statement that "Melville, himself a reformer, was the one to throw this denial of the good effects of their [the Abolitionists'] philosophy in their face" is entirely fictitious. Melville said nothing of the kind; in his statement the Abolitionists are not mentioned and no opinion is vouchsafed. All he says is that the action was "peculiarly calculated to stir up the resentment of a slave-owner," which Melville was not. It is significant to note that the memorials and petitions condemning flogging that flooded Congress, before and after the publication of White-Jacket, were, with the exception of Maryland's, all from anti-slavery states. (Anderson, Melville in the South Seas, pp. 430, 432, 493).

¹⁴ Melville, White-Jacket, pp. 134-5.

¹⁵ Anderson, Journal of a Cruise 1842-44, pp. 121-2. The noble Bulkington, "a huge favorite" with his shipmates, was a Southerner: "His voice at once announced that he was a Southerner, and from his fine stature, I thought he must be one of those tall mountaineers from the Alleghanian Ridge in Virginia." (Melville, Moby-Dick, p. 16).

... battle division

CHAPTER V

HIGH-TIDE: MOBY-DICK

The years from 1848 to 1851 witness the high point in Melville's thinking along democratic lines, when despite his metaphysical intoxications, a sense of excitement at the possibility of improving life on the planet seems often to break through the gloom; when his caustic observations on "uncivilized" as compared with "snivelized" life, his militant pacifism, his disgust with man-of-war clericalism, "mickonaree" Christianity and other abuses of humanity pour fresh and hot on the waiting sheets. Reviewing The Oregon Trail in the Literary World of March 31, 1849--notwithstanding his own sometimes dubious manipulation of the Negro in the cause of comic relief--he cannot brook Parkman's calumination of the Indian. He too had lived with "savages" and he savagely scorns the Bostonian's view that it is "difficult for any white man, after a domestication among the Indians, to hold them much better than brutes...."¹ It is during this period that Melville wrote his famous review of "Hawthorne and His Mosses," significant more for its Whitmanesque vision of the American

¹ In the first draft of "Hawthorne and His Mosses," Melville fired a shot at the Boston literati. The sentence, "Let us away with this leaven of literary flunkeyism towards England," originally had the adjective "Bostonian" inserted before the noun "leaven." (Duyckinck Collection).

100-100000-100000

TO THE HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND
TO THE SENATORS, AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NAVAL DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MANUFACTURES DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MINES DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE RELIGION DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ARTS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SCIENCES DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LETTERS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MEDICINE DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LAW DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE THEOLOGY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE METEOROLOGY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ASTRONOMY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PHYSICS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHEMISTRY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE VETERINARY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MANUFACTURES DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MINES DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE RELIGION DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ARTS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SCIENCES DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LETTERS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MEDICINE DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LAW DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE THEOLOGY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE METEOROLOGY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ASTRONOMY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PHYSICS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHEMISTRY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE VETERINARY DEPARTMENT,

AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MANUFACTURES DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MINES DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE RELIGION DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ARTS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SCIENCES DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LETTERS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MEDICINE DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LAW DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE THEOLOGY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE METEOROLOGY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ASTRONOMY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PHYSICS DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHEMISTRY DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT,
AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE VETERINARY DEPARTMENT,

author to come and for its conception of American literature as bound up with the manifest democratic destiny of the nation than for its estimate of Hawthorne--who would have made his way without Melville's encomium. In this long, rambling article, appearing in two issues of the Literary World during August 1850, the American writer is defined as "a man who is bound to carry republican progressiveness into literature as well as into life," as one who breathes "that unshackled democratic spirit of Christianity in all things which now takes the practical lead in this world."² Is it typical Melvillean irony that puts these words in the mouth of "A Virginian Spending July in Vermont," on holiday from "quiet plantation life"--who refers to "a hot-headed Carolina cousin," and speaks of Hawthorne's shooting "strong New England roots in the hot soil" of his "Southern soul"?³

The hours taken to pen his tribute to Hawthorne and the coming American Shakespeare were hours stolen from the writing of Moby-Dick, which swims into the world in the fall of 1851. Surveying the heterogeneous population on the deck of the Pequod, one remembers Melville's fondness for the French Revolutionary figure of Baron Jean Baptiste de Clootz--Anacharsis

² Melville added the phrase "of Christianity" to the first draft--a revealing hint of the kind of democracy he had faith in. (Duyckinck Collection).

³ Thorp, op. cit., pp. 339-41. Melville used this technique again in one of his Civil War poems of the Battle-Pieces volume titled "Stonewall Jackson" and subtitled "(Ascribed to a Virginian)."

Clootz, the "Orator of the Human Race"--who appeared before the National Assembly in June 1790 "with the human species at his heels...."⁴ For here too, "federated along one keel," an "Anacharsis Clootz deputation from all the isles of the sea, and all the ends of the earth," accompanied "Old Ahab in the Pequod to lay the world's grievances before that bar from which not very many of them ever come back." There was black little Pip, who, "prelusive of the eternal time...was bid strike in with angels, and beat his tambourine in glory; called a coward here, hailed a hero there!"⁵ And along with him--poor Alabama boy--in this deputation from the ends of the earth, almost lost sight of in the colorful crowd, sail Fleece, the old Negro cook, wiser than Stubb his tormentor, and Daggoo, the lordly African harpooneer. Blackus, the "little black," and the Old Cook were real members of the Acushnet's crew,

⁴ On February 18, 1864 the (London) Times, in a review of an allegedly abolitionist pamphlet that championed miscegenation as a solution of the American color problem, described its author as the "new Anacharsis Clootz"; Palmer's Index to the Times lists the article as "--the Clootz's Plan for Improving the White Race." The bizarre but meaningful figure of Clootz intrigued Melville, who cites him in a number of other works, including Billy Budd (Melville, Shorter Novels, p. 203) and The Confidence-Man (p. 6). It is likely that Melville met Clootz for the first time in Carlyle's French Revolution, which devotes several pages to his dramatic role: "Anacharsis Clootz entering the august Salle De Manege, with the Human Species at his heels, Swedes, Spaniards, Polacks, Turks, Chaldeans, Greeks, dwellers in Mesopotamia; behold them all, they have come to claim place in the grand Federation, having an undoubted interest in it. 'Our Ambassador titles,' said the fervid Clootz, 'are not written on parchment, but on the living hearts of all men.'" (Thomas Carlyle, The French Revolution [Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1918], p. 123).

⁵ Melville, Moby-Dick, pp. 112-3.

which had four Negroes in it. Of the other two, Tom Johnson, who died at Mowee, and Reed, a mulatto, there are no counterparts on the Pequod. If the character of Queequeg is based on Melville's South Sea experience (Mehavi of Typee is a credible model), the giant Daggoo seems a new and original creation, to be repeated perhaps in Atufal, the African King, who revolts against the Spaniard, Benito Cereno, much as the taunted Daggoo rebels against the Pequod's Spanish Sailor.⁶

One ponders the reason why Melville began Moby-Dick with the figure of the noble savage, Queequeg. Was it simply that he could not escape from the technique and milieu of his early novels? For in a sense the basic pattern of Moby-Dick is that of the amorphous Mardi: what seems to begin as a simple and lively sea story turns into a complex, loaded allegory--complete in Mardi, partial in Moby-Dick. So much is made of this man-of-color, Queequeg,--so intimate are his physical and intellectual relationships with Ishmael!⁷ Had Melville perhaps

⁶ Daggoo's name is perhaps a compound of "Dag," the Hebrew word for whale (which Melville printed on the etymological page of Moby-Dick) and the second syllable of "Negro."

⁷ Recall Queequeg's "bedroom clasp" in the early chapter, "The Counterpane" (ibid., p. 27), an incident which Melville varied a few years later in his historical novel, Israel Potter (1855). When Israel takes offense at John Paul Jones's refusal to sleep in the same bed with him, Jones coolly replies: "When, before the mast, I first sailed out of Whitehaven to Norway...I had for hammock-mate a full-blooded Congo. We had a white blanket spread in our hammock. Every time I turned in I found the Congo's black wool worked in with the white worsted. By the end of the voyage the blanket was of a pepper-and-salt look, like an old man's turning head. So it's not because I'm notional at all, but because I don't care to, my lord. (Melville, Romances, p. 1391).

the purpose in mind, an Anacharsis Clootz purpose--to re-state to the world concretely and unmistakably what he had already said indirectly in Typee, allegorically in Mardi and casually in a few book-reviews--the fact of unconditional human brotherhood? Does Queequeg, whose idol is a "little negro"⁸ stand for the Negro also? Recall the incident aboard the plunging craft carrying Ishmael and his friend to Nantucket: "So full of this reeling scene were we...that for some time we did not notice the jeering glances of the passengers, a lubber-like assembly, who marvelled that two fellow beings should be so companionable; as though a white man were anything more than a white-washed negro. But there were some boobies and bumpkins there, who, by their intense greenness, must have come from the heart and centre of all verdure." Queequeg catches "one of these young saplings mimicking him behind his back" and chastises him. "It's a mutual joint-stick world in all meridians," the Polynesian seems to say to himself after he snatches the booby from the drink--"We cannibals must help these Christians."⁹ There are few concessions to comic relief by way of minstrel portrait of the Negro in this, Melville's greatest book. It is, indeed, the "unconditional democrat" who speaks out in its opening pages. "Melville raised his times up when he got them into Moby-Dick," writes a recent critic with much truth, "e.g.

⁸ Melville, Moby-Dick, p. 24.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 59-60.

14-00000

his crew, a 'people,' Cloatz and Tom Paine's people, all races and colors functioning together, a forecastle reality of Americans not yet a dream accomplished" by society.¹⁰ When old Bildad objects to admitting the heathen Queequeg to the Pequod's crew, Ishmael points out that all men are members of the same church: "the great and everlasting First Congregation of this whole worshipping world; we all belong to that; only some of us cherish crotchets noways touching the grand belief; in that we all join hands."¹¹

But even before he meets Queequeg, Moby-Dick introduces the reader to the Negro.¹² Research aplenty has been done on

¹⁰ Olson, op. cit., p. 16. Olson's further statement in this passage that Melville "held firm in his schema" is doubtful.

¹¹ Melville, Moby-Dick, p. 84. It is interesting to note an opinion of the unconditional democracy in Melville's work by a German critic writing under the Hitler regime: "Mit der Frage der Negersklaverei hat sich Melville bereits 1849 in 'Mardi' auseinandergesetzt. Sie bedeutete für ihn einen Fluch für das Land; im allgemeinen urteilt er, wie so oft, wenn sein Temperament nicht mehr durch den nüchternen Verstand zu zügeln ist, über dieses Problem stark einseitig und ebenso ungerecht gegen die weissen Amerikaner, wie bei seiner schiefen Beurteilung der Sudseeinsulaner und Indianer." (Dr. K.H. Sundermann, Herman Melvilles Gedankengut, Eine kritische Untersuchung seiner weltanschaulichen Grundideen [Berlin: Verlag Arthur Collignon, 1937], p. 159). Sundermann's book has been thus far only superficially discussed in an inadequate review by William Braswell (American Literature, X [March, 1938], 104-7). Nazi ideology appears in it in many places.

¹² When Ishmael first sees the Pequod, the whaler seems to him "apparelled like any barbaric Ethiopian emperor, his neck heavy with pendants of polished ivory. She was a thing of trophies. A cannibal of a craft...." (Melville, Moby-Dick, p. 66). The Pequod, from this point of view, was a craft suitably decorated for its Nantucket skipper, Ahab, whose biblical original also had an "ivory house." (I. Kings, 22:39).

Ishmael's visit to Father Mapple's chapel; none at all on another interesting, if briefer, visit. As Ishmael searches for lodging in New Bedford, he makes out "a smoky light proceeding from a low, wide building, the door of which stood invitingly open. It had a careless look, as if it were meant for the uses of the public." Ishmael peers in. Inside seemed to be "the great Black Parliament sitting in Tophet. A hundred black faces turned round in their rows to peer; and beyond, a black Angel of Doom was beating a book in a pulpit. It was a negro church; and the preacher's text was about the blackness of darkness, and the weeping and wailing and teeth-gnashing there. Ha, Ishmael, muttered I, backing out, Wretched entertainment at the sign of 'The Trap!'"¹³

The allegorical meaning of the passage is fairly obvious.¹⁴ What claims a pedestrian interest here is the event itself. Did Melville actually stumble into a Negro church? In 1839, New Bedford had a population of 12,354 souls of which 1,051 were colored. At least three Negro churches existed there: the Third Christian Church, the Zion's Methodist Episcopal

¹³ Melville, Moby-Dick, p. 10

¹⁴ Isaiah and Jeremiah here add their prophetic voices to the seaman, Elijah's, in calling down Jehovah's wrath on the wicked. (Isaiah, 30-33; Jeremiah, 7-31; 19-6, 12, 13, 14; 2 Kings, 23-10). The marble tablets masoned into the walls on either side of Father Mapple's pulpit have black borders. When Ishmael arrives at the Try Pots--run by Mrs. Hussey, her husband and "her little black boy"--a pair of "prodigious black pots" meets his eyes. "Are these last throwing out oblique hints touching Tophet?" he asks himself. (Melville, Moby-Dick, pp. 34, 61-2).

View

Church on South Second Street, and the Baptist Church (with 460 members) on William Street. The buildings that housed these congregations no longer exist for positive identification;¹⁵ yet--although the experience might have been transferred from a New York or Albany locale--it is quite possible that Melville wandered into a Negro church on that dark night in New Bedford.¹⁶ Indeed, one's wonder as to how his imagination ever gathered this strange crew--Malayans, Indians, Manxmen, South Sea Islanders, Cholos, Negroes, all the far-flung citizenry of the dramatic medley of Chapter XL--is partially dispelled by a description of New Bedford by its abolitionist historian, Daniel Ricketson, in 1850: "our city is a microcosm. Not only the Portuguese and Spaniard, but

¹⁵ Anon., Articles of Faith and Covenant of the First Baptist Church, William-Street (New Bedford: Press of Benjamin Lindsey, 1842), p. 60; F.W. Hutt, editor, A History of Bristol County, Massachusetts (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1924), II, 523; Anon., History of the Churches of New Bedford (New Bedford: E. Anthony & Sons, Printers, 1869), pp. 6, 99; H.W. Crapo, The New Bedford Directory (New Bedford: Press of Benjamin Lindsey, 1841), pp. 23-4, 28. In letters to me of May 25 and 28, 1948, William H. Tripp, Curator of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Whaling Museum in New Bedford, writes that the "Zion's Methodist Episcopal Church on South Second Street...would be on the street in back of the Seamen's Bethel so we presume it to be the one referred to in MOBY-DICK"; although nothing is to be had "in the way of old prints, memoirs, etc., which give us any description of the old Negro church of which we are writing," it "is quite likely that the services at that time were held in some old building which was not really a church edifice." The Seamen's Bethel, which, partly rebuilt, still remains on its old site, is the only extant artifact of Moby-Dick in New Bedford.

¹⁶ See page 69 above.

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...
...the ... of ...

Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, German, French, English, Scotch, Irish, and other natives of Europe, as well as of Asia and Africa, the Sandwich-Islanders, New Zealanders, etc., etc., are to be found among our seamen and more or less of them in port the greater part of the time."¹⁷

The most impressive Negro character of Moby-Dick is, of course, Daggoo, "a gigantic, coal-black, negro-savage, with a lion-like tread--an Ahasuerus to behold." A white man "standing before him seemed a white flag come to beg truce of a fortress."¹⁸ The word "savage" is rather a label of appearance than an assessment of character. Indeed, even the kingly Negro's appearance betokens a noble nature. As the whale-boats rush to the kill, there's little Flask mounted upon gigantic Daggoo; "sustaining himself with a cool, indifferent, easy, unthought of, barbaric majesty, the noble negro" rolls his fine form harmoniously with the sea. Symbolism is to be expected: is it Negro bondage and white oppression that are sculptured here? "The bearer looked nobler than the rider. Though truly vivacious, tumultuous, ostentatious little Flask would now and then stamp with impatience; but not one added heave did he thereby give to the negro's lordly chest." Observes Melville: "So have I seen Passion and Vanity stamping

¹⁷ Daniel Ricketson, The History of New Bedford (New Bedford: Published by the Author, 1850), p. 55.

¹⁸ Melville, Moby-Dick, p. 111.

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

the living magnanimous earth, but the earth did not alter her tides and her seasons for that."¹⁹

Nor is "Ahasuerus Daggoo" a muttering Fleece, who submerges his anger. When the Spanish sailor mocks his flashing teeth, he springs up, crying, "Swallow thine, mannikin! White skin, white liver!" and rushes forward to meet the dagger-armed Spaniard--while the Greek chorus, in the person of the Old Manx Sailor (significantly from the Isle of Man) furnishes the typical Melvillean comment: "Ready formed. There! the ringed horizon. In that ring Cain struck Abel. Sweet work, right work, No? Why then, God, mad'st thou the ring?"²⁰

The character of Pip is a complex one, easy to trace to its source in Lear, but difficult to pierce allegorically. Most interesting is the utter compassion with which Melville views him. In Pip one sees all the deep, painful yearning of the Negro spiritual for escape from misery to a haven of peace, from the Stubbs of the world who can say seriously: "We can't afford to lose whales by the likes of you; a whale would sell for thirty times what you would Pip, in Alabama..." For "Pip loved life, and all life's peaceable securities; so that the panic-striking business in which he had somehow unaccountably become entrapped, had most sadly blurred his brightness, though, as ere long will be seen, what was thus temporarily subdued in

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 209.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 165.

... ..

• • • • •

him, in the end was destined to be luridly illumined by strange wild fires, that fictitiously showed him off to ten times the natural lustre with which in his native Tolland County in Connecticut, he had once enlivened many a fiddler's frolic on the green...."²¹

There is no maid to go through Tartarus on board the Pequod, but Pip's experience in Ahab's ruthless search for the meaning of evil, is certainly the rape of all innocence in the world. Is it not Christianity that is indicted, when Pip, shrinking under the windlass as the squall comes up, cries, "Oh, thou big white God aloft there somewhere in your darkness, have mercy on this small black boy down here."²² Nor is Pip an idiot-child with hallucinatory visions, a "holy person" with the gift of tongues and voices--at least, not at first. In the realistic description that Melville gives of him before his transformation by terror, he shows up as the mental superior of his white counterpart: "In outer aspect, Pip and Dough-Boymade a match, like a black pony and a white one....But while hapless Dough-Boy was by nature dull and torpid in his intellects, Pip, though over tender-hearted, was at bottom very bright with that pleasant genial, jolly brightness peculiar" to the Negro. "Nor smile so, while I write," adds Ishmael, "that

²¹ Ibid., pp. 166, 387-9. There is some confusion as to where Pip's home was. In this passage it is "his native Tolland County in Connecticut; in another passage, he is called a "Poor Alabama boy."

²² Ibid., p. 185.

this little black was brilliant, for even blackness has its brilliancy; behold you lustrous ebony, panelled in King's cabinets."²³

Daggoo and Pip are heroic, allegorical characters, which is perhaps why Melville made no attempt to achieve realism in their speech.²⁴ With Fleece, who is patterned on the old cooks of the previous novels, it is different; he speaks in dialect; and there is still the slightest touch of condescension in the delineation of "this old Ebony," who shambles along from his galley, for, "like many old blacks, there was something the

²³ Melville probably drew consciously or subconsciously, on a passage in Thomas Fuller's (1608-1669), "The Good Sea-Captain," from which he also quotes both in the "Extracts" of Moby-Dick as well as in the earlier White-Jacket: "In taking a prize he most prizeth the men's lives whom he takes; though some of them may chance to be negroes or savages. It is the custom of some to cast them overboard, and there's an end of them; for the dumb fishes will tell no tales. But the murder is not so soon drowned as the men. What! is a brother by half blood no kin? A savage hath God to his father by creation, though not the Church to his mother, and God will revenge his innocent blood. But our Captain counts the image of God nevertheless his image, cut in ebony as if done in ivory, and in the blackest Moors he sees the representation of the King of Heaven." (The Holy and Profane State [Cambridge: Hilliard and Brown, 1831], p. 112).

²⁴ Melville, Moby-Dick, pp. 386-7. Charles Olson points out that Pip is the first fellow-being whom Ahab offers to help. Olson calls it "a crucial act" but evidently sees no part of its significance in the fact that Pip is a Negro lad. It is at this time that "Ahab speaks Lear's phrases: 'Thou touchest my inmost centre, boy; thou art tied to me by cords woven of my heart-strings. Come, let's down.'" (Op. cit., p. 60). Pip makes his last appearance in Chapter CXXIX, "The Cabin"--although his voice is heard in the last chapter--and pleads his complete faithfulness to Ahab. "Oh! spite of million villains," cries the old man, "this makes me a bigot in the fadeless fidelity of man!--and a black! and crazy!..." (Melville, Moby-Dick, p. 493).

matter with his kneepans, which he did not keep well-scoured like his other pans...." Fleece says that he is ninety, born on a ferry boat in Roanoke County. "Cook," plagues Stubb, "do you belong to the church?" "Passed one once in Cape-Down," replies the old man sullenly"; it is still end-man and interlocutor in a minstrel-show.

Yet the magic of Moby-Dick touches even old Fleece with tragic grace.²⁵ He is given his philosophical piece to recite along with the rest. Goaded by Stubb, he delivers a profound sermon to the sharks: "You is sharks, sartin; but if you govern de shark in you, why den you be angel; for all angel is not'ing more dan de shark well governed....Don't be tearin' de blubber out of your neighbour's mout, I say." Exasperated finally by Stubb's demand of "Whale-balls for breakfast," Fleece passes what amounts to judgment on Stubb-kind and prophesy for Ahab: "Wish, by gor! whale eat him, 'stead of him eat whale. I'm bressed if he ain't more of shark den Massa Shark hisself."²⁶

²⁵ Ibid., p. 108. "If, then, to meanest mariners, and renegades and castaways, I shall hereafter ascribe high qualities, though dark; weave round them tragic graces; if even the most mournful, perchance the most abased, among them all, shall at times lift himself to the exalted mounts; if I shall touch that workman's arm with some ethereal light; if I shall spread a rainbow over his disastrous set of sun; then against all mortal critics bear me out in it, thou just Spirit of Equality, which hast spread one royal mantle of humanity over all my kind! Bear me out in it, thou great democratic God! who didst not refuse to the swart convict, Bunyan, the pale poetic pearl."

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 279, 282.

Thus does Melville delineate the Negro in three finely conceived characters of Moby-Dick. Nor is this all he has to say on the subject. Of the slave-trade, in the famous chapter on "The Gam," he observes: "As touching slave ships meeting, why, they are in such a prodigious hurry, they run away from each other as soon as possible." In the clever chapter on "Fast-Fish and Loose-Fish," in the spirit of Mardi, he breathes scorn on the slave-expansionist policy of Vivenza: "Is it not a saying in everyone's mouth, Possession is half of the law; that is, regardless of how the thing came into possession? But often possession is the whole of the law. What are the sinews and souls of Russian serfs and Republican slaves but Fast-Fish, whereof possession is the whole of the law....What to that apostolic lancer, Brother Jonathan, is Texas but Fast-Fish?...But if the doctrine of Fast-Fish be pretty generally applicable, the kindred doctrine of Loose-Fish is still more widely so....What at the last will Mexico be to the United States?..." And in a humorous vein, speaking of the whale-destroying Nantucketers, as "So many Alexanders; parcelling out among them the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian oceans, as the three pirates did Poland," he says: "Let America add Mexico to Texas, and pile Cuba upon Canada; let the English overswarm all India...two thirds of this terraqueous globe are the

Nantucketer's."²⁷

Moby-Dick, written at the high-tide of Melville's confidence in unconditional American democracy, does not exclude the Negro from its "republican progressiveness." The white-hot mood of boundless creativity in which its pages were struck off--enveloping harpooneer Daggoo, cabin-boy Pip and cook Fleece in its warm and generous humanity--was soon to give way to a feeling of exhaustion and doubt. Pierre, and especially "Benito Cereno," next to be considered, are at the ebb.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 60, 277, 373-4. The anti-imperialist sentiment in these passages seems controverted somewhat by another passage in the chapter on "The Whiteness of the Whale" where Melville says: "...this preeminence in it [whiteness] applies to the human race itself, giving the white man ideal mastership over every dusky tribe." (Ibid., p. 176). What Melville here means by the adjective "ideal" is difficult to say; perhaps he meant to say "allegedly ideal," using "ideal" in one of its modern connotations of a spiritual goal to be striven for. More likely, Melville was using it in its neutral, epistemological, Berkeleyan sense, as opposed to "objective."

CHAPTER VI

EBB-TIDE: PIERRE, BENITO CERENO AND THE 'GEES

Pierre, which follows the story of Ahab and the white whale, has thus far been valuable for the information it has furnished of Melville's memories of his benevolent, slave-holding grandfather--the hero of Fort Stanwix. That it has little else in it to the purpose of this study is not to be wondered at. A labyrinthine exploration of Melville's interior worlds of uncertainty and torture, it is peopled with characters who bear only remote resemblance to real men and women, while its streets and houses are those of some cloud-cuckoo land. Neither the Negro nor the ambiguities of American culture which kept him in chains are present in Pierre, although when Dates, Mrs. Glendinning's man-servant, appears in its opening pages, one's expectations are aroused. But while everything about Dates--and especially the manner in which Pierre addresses him--seems to indicate that Melville thinks of him as a Negro, he grows shadowier and shadowier as the story proceeds and no definite identification is ever made. What meaning may be construed from a casual phrase of Pierre's anent "the Nubian power" in Isabel's eyes will depend on whether the reader subscribes to an interpretation of the novel which sees blonde Lucy (lux) as white virtue and brunette

Isabel (Isis?) as dark evil.¹

Although the democratic enthusiasm of Moby-Dick now seemed almost completely spent, the nine years intervening between Pierre and the outbreak of the Civil War were certainly not the silent ones some critics have made them out to be. Melville still had things to say and the literary atmosphere of Pittsfield encouraged him to say them. Busy years they were, too, in which he scrambled to get the living that his pen had not brought. There were acres to be tended at Arrowhead, a consular appointment at the Sandwich Islands to be tried for in 1853 through Richard Henry Dana and others,² a trip to Italy and the Holy Land in the fall of 1856 (which

¹ Melville, Pierre, p. 162. In his frantic letter to Dates, Pierre signs himself, "Thy Master."

² James D. Hart, "Melville and Dana," American Literature, IX (March, 1937), 53. Dana, who explained to Herman's brother Allan that he was not "personally acquainted with the President or the Secretary of State," could do nothing. Henry Walker Bishop, Justice of the Massachusetts Court of Common Pleas, wrote Secretary Marcy in Melville's behalf, evidently at the request of Chief Justice Shaw. The main section of this letter (it is nowhere in print) is herewith given. It is of course a political solicitation for a political office and therefore to be handled gingerly for its facts: "His acquaintance with the world, and its commercial relations peculiarly fit him for it. --He belongs to one of the oldest & most distinguished democratic families of this State. --With us, his name is associated with early republicanism & Jeffersonian doctrines. --What his political views are now I hardly know. His literary tastes and habits have withdrawn him from party controversies. That the firm and stable democracy of Massachusetts would approve---his appointment to the post, which, thro' his friends, he solicits, I have no doubt." (Melville Papers).

inspired a sheaf of verse immediately and the long poem, Clarel, later), lectures which from 1857 to 1860 took him all over the country, and finally a long voyage to California.³

Nor were these years silent ones for the nation--it was as a "strange, unloosen'd, wondrous time" that Whitman saw the taut, portentous decade that preceded the fall of Sumter. Where did Melville stand in relation to the impending crisis that he had adumbrated so somberly in the words of Mohi, Media and Bab-balanja. Again, the record is meager. Lathers tells of his frequent visits to the "well-stocked library" at Arrowhead, where he "listened with intense pleasure" to Melville's "highly individual views of society and politics," views that would emerge more or less unclearly in a baker's dozen of short stories and sketches appearing in Harper's and Putnam's from 1853 to 1856--more or less clearly in The Confidence-Man of 1857.⁴

³ Willard Thorp, "Herman Melville's Silent Years," University Review, III (Summer, 1937), 254-62. There were trips to New York, also, which kept him in contact with the milieu of Mardi. Lathers writes that during the winter of 1855-56 he attended frequent, informal "Saturday night supper parties in the basement of the residence of that prince of good fellows, Evert A. Duyckinck. Here in the company of such kindred spirits as Dr. J.W. Francis, Rev. Dr. Hawks, the poet Fitz Greene Halleck, the comedian Hackett, the novelist Herman Melville, and the poet and traveler Bayard Taylor, the genial nature of Thackeray fairly radiated cheer." (Richard Lathers, The Reminiscences of Richard Lathers [New York: Grafton Press, 1902], p. 51.

⁴ Ibid., p. 328. With the exception of the note on page , nothing has been said about the historical novel, Israel Potter, which had its first publication in Putnam's Monthly Magazine from July 1854 to March 1855, running concurrently with some of the stories and sketches. In a few of its passages Melville's genius flashes through, but the novel as a whole has little direct interest for this study.

Of the stories and sketches only brief mention can be made. The first of them, "Bartleby, the Scrivener"--one of the most significant of the lot--has often been dissected as allegory. As with most of Melville's writings, it is susceptible of exegesis on many levels, although most critics have seen in Bartleby's withdrawal from society a fictionized statement of the solipsistic defiance that the neglected author of Pierre hurled at a vulgar and insensitive public. A recent analysis of "Bartleby" construes it as an allegorical attack on the Pollyanna bias of New England transcendentalism in general, and on Thoreauvian individualism in particular as contained in the essay, "Civil Disobedience."⁵ The theory is that the story constitutes a reductio ad absurdum of Thoreau's doctrine of the necessity of passive resistance to a slavery-condoning government. The theory will not stand up. For it must be a flimsy construction, indeed, that presents Melville--a kind of quietist--berating Thoreau, a kind of activist, for espousing an isolationism that leads inevitably to the grave. Nor is the interpretation strengthened by the fact that Melville indicates no alternative to Thoreau's line of action. As a matter of fact, on the bitter issue of the Mexican War--the specific subject of "Civil Disobedience"--their positions are remarkably close. Taji's criticism of Polk's declaration

⁵ Egbert S. Oliver, "A Second Look at 'Bartleby,'" College English, VI (May, 1945), 431-39.

of war is simply an allegorical re-statement of Thoreau's opinion that the war was "the work of comparatively a few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset the people would not have consented to this measure."⁶

The three items in the sheaf, however, that deal in whole or part with Negro characters, seem to represent a cynical retreat from that "unshackled spirit of democracy" to be noted in Moby-Dick and sporadic flashes in the earlier works. "The Happy Failure," a Hawthornesque attack on the method of science as a destroyer of the human heart--so lack-lustre one wonders why

⁶ Henry D. Thoreau, Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1890), p. 2. Cf. p.39 above for Taji's criticism of the Mexican War and p.76 for Ishmael's comment on the same subject. Other stories and sketches of this pre-war group that hold only peripheral interest for this study are: "Cock-A-Doodle-Do!"--a veiled attack on the hocus-pocus of transcendentalism, recently discussed by Egbert S. Oliver ("'Cock-A-Doodle-Do!' and Transcendental Hocus-Pocus," New England Quarterly, XXI [June, 1948], 204-216; "The Fiddler," "Jimmy Rose," "The Apple-Tree Table," "The Bell-Tower," and "I and My Chimney"--pedestrian affairs significant chiefly for their biographical revelations; "The Encantadas," a series of powerful descriptive sketches--highly lauded by Lowell--wherein Melville revisited in memory the seared shores of the Galapagos Islands; "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs," a corrosive criticism of the Emersonian dogma of compensation, which with "Paradise of Bachelors and Tartarus of Maids," reveals his thinking on the questions of poverty, industrialism and woman's function in society; and "The Two Temples," a bitter attack on the wealthy pew-holders of Grace Church in New York, which was rejected by the editors of Putnam's Monthly who feared it would offend "the religious sensibilities of the public and the Congregation...." (Weaver, op. cit., p. 348).

Harper's printed it--is built around three characters, one of whom is Yorpy, a "grizzled old black man," who speaks with a comical "Dutch African" accent. He is a figure easily recognized as a compound of Melville's stereotyped Negro cook and the faithful, Uncle Tomish house-servant, reminiscent of Jupiter in Poe's "Gold Bug,"--a minstrel type, stupid but loyal, patronized throughout the story.⁷ "The 'Gees,"--the ugliest, most tasteless thing Melville ever wrote--concerns the Portuguese-African islanders of Fogo, one of the Cape de Verdes, whose abbreviated name was given them by seamen "in pure contumely." Of all men, he writes in this story, "seamen have strong prejudices, particularly in the matter of race. They are bigots here." Then, in paradoxically bigoted fashion, he continues: "But when a creature of inferior race [sic] lives among them, an inferior tar, there seems no bound to their disdain...." With forced and backward humor he describes the 'Gees. "As the name is a curtailment, so the race is a residuum. Some three centuries ago certain Portuguese convicts were sent as a colony to Fogo...an island previously stocked with an aboriginal race of negroes, ranking pretty high in incivility, but rather low in stature and morals. In course of time, from the amalgamated generation all the likelier sort drafted off as food for powder, and the ancestors of the since-called 'Gees were left as the caput mortum, or melancholy

⁷ Melville, The Apple-Tree Table, pp. 301, 302.

remainder." The kind of vulgarity in this sketch may be sampled by the following sentence: "Like the negro, the 'Gee has a peculiar savor, as in the sea-bird called haglet. Like venison, his flesh is firm but lean."⁸

"The 'Gees" is, after all, but a slight piece--a "memo-randum" written at the "happy suggestion" of a friend, as Melville put it. "Benito Cereno," however, published in three installments in Putnam's at the end of 1855, is doubtless the most significant item of the group.⁹ It has frequently been spoken for as one of the great tales of the sea--a masterpiece of horror, mystery and atmosphere. Perhaps it is that. F.O. Matthiessen was the first to note in print what seems an aesthetic flaw in this story in the circumstance that its noble hero, the allegedly wronged Don Benito Cereno, is a slave-trader.¹⁰ Although this fact might not vitiate the effect of

⁸ Ibid., pp. 317-329.

⁹ Melville's judgment of the best items of the group may be noted in The Piazza Tales of 1856, wherein he printed "Bartleby," "Benito Cereno," "The Lightning-Rod Man," "The Encantadas" and "The Bell-Tower."

¹⁰ The "embodiment of good in the pale Spanish captain and of evil in the mutinied African crew, though pictorially and theatrically effective, was unfortunate in raising unanswered questions. Although the Negroes were savagely vindictive and drove a terror of blackness into Cereno's heart, the fact remains that they were slaves and that evil had thus originally been done to them. Melville's failure to reckon with this fact within the limits of his narrative makes its tragedy, for all its prolonged suspense, comparatively superficial." (Op. cit., p. 508). Van Wyck Brooks cites another flaw: "He spoiled the finest of his short stories, the otherwise superb Benito Cereno, by including an eighteen page legal report towards the end." (Op. cit., p. 168).

1. The first of the two main points is that the

second point is that the first point is that the

third point is that the second point is that the

fourth point is that the third point is that the

fifth point is that the fourth point is that the

sixth point is that the fifth point is that the

seventh point is that the sixth point is that the

eighth point is that the seventh point is that the

ninth point is that the eighth point is that the

tenth point is that the ninth point is that the

eleventh point is that the tenth point is that the

twelfth point is that the eleventh point is that the

thirteenth point is that the twelfth point is that the

fourteenth point is that the thirteenth point is that the

fifteenth point is that the fourteenth point is that the

sixteenth point is that the fifteenth point is that the

seventeenth point is that the sixteenth point is that the

eighteenth point is that the seventeenth point is that the

nineteenth point is that the eighteenth point is that the

twentieth point is that the nineteenth point is that the

twenty-first point is that the twentieth point is that the

twenty-second point is that the twenty-first point is that the

twenty-third point is that the twenty-second point is that the

the story on the common reader in the chivalric South of 1855, on a good many Northern readers of the time and on the reading generations to come it was bound to diminish the compassionate understanding that Melville tried to evoke for the Spanish captain. In fact, in the country at large, there were more than a few who probably cheered on Babo and his slave-mutineers.

What Matthiessen notes as flaw, another critic, in a mood of encomium, sees as virtue.¹¹ "Melville must have known,"

¹¹ Rosalie Feltenstein, "Melville's Benito Cereno," American Literature, XIX (November, 1947), 245-55. Feltenstein summarizes her exegesis of the allegory as follows: "The fundamental evil of men is freed to act because Don Benito has confidence; he trusts the Negroes and allows them liberty aboard ship. Like Pierre, he is led by his own good intentions into unspeakable horrors and to his destruction...." Sole basis for this statement is a clause in Cereno's deposition--"That all the negroes slept upon deck, as is customary in this navigation, and none wore fetters, because the owner, his friend Aranda, told him they were all tractable." This clause obviously does not warrant a reading of the story which gives Cereno "Good intentions" or the slaves "liberty aboard ship." The focus of "Benito Cereno" is not a slave-trader's misplaced confidence in slaves (it were naive and crude to grow ironical over that--and naive to attribute the idea to Melville), but the ambiguities perpetrated by life itself in the relationship between Cereno and Delano, which result in the Yankee's wavering confidence in the Spaniard. "So far may even the best men err," observes Cereno, "in judging the conduct of one with the recesses of whose condition he is not acquainted." "I think I understand you," replies Delano; "You generalize, Don Benito; and mournfully enough." (Melville, Shorter Novels, pp. 87, 104). In one aspect, "Benito Cereno," written almost midway between Pierre, or the Ambiguities and The Confidence-Man, is the link between them." Stanley T. Williams ("Follow Your Leader," Melville's 'Benito Cereno,' " Virginia Quarterly Review, XXIII [Winter, 1947], 61-76.) sees in the slave-leader, Babo, a Claggart-like example of "innate depravity." Babo hates "for the happiness of hatred," is evil "for the sake of evil," possesses "a motiveless malignity, as potent and pure in its kind as good!...In his torture of Don Benito, in his

she maintains, "that such a question would arise especially since he was writing when the anti-slavery movement was at its height, and knew that even as an implication it would add more power to his treatment of the baffling ambiguity of evil." Intent on making "Benito Cereno" another Dante's Inferno, this critic is more indulgent with Melville than he often was with himself. He was not above writing "possible flaw" in the margin of a manuscript.¹²

More important than the remarking of an aesthetic error in "Benito Cereno" is an attempt to understand the intellectual state that permitted it. For Melville certainly was "thoroughly aware of the slavery question,"¹³ and it is difficult to believe that it was mere insensitivity that allowed him to conceive a hero in Don Benito. The fact is that behind the abortive conception, one senses a change in attitude--a retrogression which is brought out most sharply in those passages where he speaks unmistakably through the mouth of Delano. For instance, puzzling over the mystery of the Spaniard's behavior, the Nantucket skipper asks himself: "...could then Don Benito be any way in complicity with the blacks? But they were too

spectacular, hypocritical pageant in which he trains the ship's crew, in the excess of his hatred, Babo goes far beyond his needs as a hard-pressed mutineer." This is stretching thread to make cloth; it is a dubious reading that sees as "hypocritical" the ruse of a slave-rebel to gain his freedom. As a matter of fact Babo's "cruelty" did not extend beyond his needs; had he been more ruthless, his clever scheme might have succeeded.

¹² MS of Billy Budd (Melville Papers).

¹³ Feltenstein, op. cit., p. 249.

stupid. Besides, who ever heard of a white so far a renegade as to apostasize from his very species almost, by leaguering in against it with negroes?" Again, some pages on, noting the Negro's "docility," as "arising from the unaspiring contentment of a limited," he comments on "that susceptibility of blind attachment sometimes inhering in indisputable inferiors!"¹⁴ The ideas have the true flavor of the typical apologetics of the Southern Literary Messenger.

Aside from a description of Atufal, the lordly African king who calls up memory of Ahasuerus Daggoo¹⁵--and some admiration for the "uncivilized" Negro women aboard, "tender of heart and tough of constitution"--the better part of Melville's attitude towards the Africans who crowd the decks of the San Dominick is the kind of condescending approval a

¹⁴ Melville, Shorter Novels, pp. 108-9, 128. Of course, Delano's character is bluff, unsuspecting, naive almost; notwithstanding the chauvinism of his opinion, he is no Negro-phobe, no Moredockian "Indian-hater." He is happy, for instance, that the character of Cereno's steward refutes an "ugly remark" once made to him by "a Barbadoes planter; that when a mulatto has a regular European face, look out for him; he is a devil." Cereno's reply--"your planter's remark I have heard applied to the Spanish and Indian mixtures in the provinces..."--recalls Babbalanja's racist comment on South Americans in Mardi: "Heat breeds life, and sloth, and rage. Here live bastard tribes and mongrel nations; wrangling and murdering to prove their freedom," (Op. cit., p. 675.) as well as Ishmael's contradictory statement that the descendants of "whalemen at last eventuated the liberation of Peru, Chili and Bolivia from the yoke of Old Spain, and the establishment of the eternal democracy in those parts." (Melville, Moby-Dick, p. 103).

¹⁵ The knife-fight on the San Dominick between the Spanish boy and the Negro boy is reminiscent of the clash between the Spanish sailor and Daggoo in Moby-Dick.

fancier vouchsafes a trick dog or circus horse. Much is made of the qualities that allegedly make the Negro, almost instinctively, a good body-servant: "that affectionate zeal which transmutes into something filial or fraternal acts in themselves but menial...one, too, whom a master need be on no stuffy superior terms with, but may treat with familiar trust, less a servant than a devoted companion...." Most Negroes are "natural valets and hair-dressers." There is, too, "a smooth tact about them in this employment, with a marvellous, noiseless, gliding briskness, not ungraceful in its way, singularly pleasing to behold, and still more so to be the manipulated object of." The old jolliness of the Negro is returned to--"the great gift of good-humour...as though God had set the whole to some pleasant tune" exempt from "the inflicted sourness of the morbid or cynical mind...." One has the feeling that Melville is describing himself--there is something of the patriarchalism of the patroon general, his ancestor, in the lines--when he says of Delano: "At home, he had often taken rare satisfaction in sitting in his door, watching some free man of colour at his work or play. If on a voyage he chanced to have a black sailor, invariably he was on chatty and half-gamesome terms with him. In fact, like most men of good, blithe heart, Captain Delano took to negroes, not philanthropically, but genially, just as other men to Newfoundland dogs...."¹⁶

¹⁶ Melville, Shorter Novels, pp. 75, 120-1.

Most arresting in this story is its conclusion: "You are saved!" cries Captain Delano; "you are saved: what has cast such a shadow upon you?" "The negro," answers Cereno. Allegorize as one may about this story, its cumulative effect, heightened by Cereno's climactic words, is to persuade (at least for the duration of its reading, according to the Poe formula) that all iniquity in the world is bound up with blackness of skin.¹⁷ Nor does the fact that the tale contains neither a "good" black nor a "bad" white character lessen that effect. It is curious to note at this point that Melville's workshop-technique in "Benito Cereno" differs markedly from his regular practice. Whereas he usually hews as closely as possible to the main outline of his historical source-material, so that the fictional vessel has a factual anchor, here the method is reversed. For in Captain Amasa Delano's original narrative of 1817, the Spanish captain is described as crazed

¹⁷ See page 95 for an extreme statement of this interpretation by Elizabeth S. Foster. Feltenstein's and Williams's etymological speculations about the connotations of the word "negro," which equate it to "blackness" from a Spanish derivative (Matthiessen also speaks of "a terror of blackness" in Cereno's heart [see p.84 above]), represent, I believe, the kind of literary delving which is largely fruitless. Melville thought and wrote in English, although his mystic, Rabelaisian manipulation of "whiteness" in Moby-Dick makes such speculation tempting. Hazlitt's sensitive distaste for this category of the pathetic fallacy in a period of anti-slavery agitation is at the opposite pole: "If pleasure and pain, good and evil were black and white, then justice and injustice, right and wrong might depend on this distinction." (William Hazlitt, Complete Works [London: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1931], XIV, 121).

bloodthirsty--and a thankless scoundrel to boot in his relations with the Yankee skipper. "I was mortified and very much hurt at the treatment which I received from Don Benito Sereno," says Delano at the end of his account.¹⁸

The manipulation of source-material in this story is more than a technical matter. In a sense, it symbolizes Melville's loss of interest in human beings for their own sakes. His characters now are the carved pawns of the allegorical chess-board. "Benito Cereno"--together with "The Happy Warrior" and "The 'Gees"--indicates an unmistakable ebb from the humanitarian concern with the Negro that was present in the flood-tide of Moby-Dick.

¹⁸ Harold H. Scudder, "Melville's Benito Cereno and Captain Delano's Voyages," Publication of the Modern Language Association, XLIII (June, 1928), 529. Scudder has also entered the exegetic field-day: "Melville himself is Benito Cereno, and Babo is the personification of malicious criticism...." The dialogue near the end "which darkens the whole tale is the voice of Melville himself crying out against the injustice which has been done him, charging his critics with a misrepresentation which has brought his work to a premature close, and ruined his life...." What did Melville have to say in "Benito Cereno" beyond bare plot and evoked atmosphere? Most likely nothing. Or was he perhaps trying to state here, as he did earlier in Mardi, that as long as slavery existed, even as the unsought inheritance of the contemporary South, it would spread its shadow of terror over the land? The antagonism between North and South, he might be saying, was also a product of suspicion and ambiguity, and the Don Benitos of the Southern aristocracy, admirable in their chivalric character, needed a kind of Carlylean warning to transform themselves into heroes or perish by the people. Atufal, the kingly Negro, his manacles locked with a key held by Cereno, who is powerless through terror of Babo to use it, is an intriguing symbol in this construction.

CHAPTER VII

LOW-TIDE: THE CONFIDENCE-MAN

During the year following the appearance of "Benito Cereno"--which was ignored by his contemporaries--there is little in print to reveal Melville's reaction to the exacerbating social and political problems of the country. That the sores festering on the body politic rankled also within his tormented brain, which agonized itself to discover the germ-culture of the contagion, can readily be seen in the quiet desparations of The Confidence-Man. Completed in 1856 as Buchanan wound up his campaign for the presidency, it suggests in sporadic but intense passages--and in its atypical choice of scene, so alien to his first-hand experience--that Melville saw in the cherished institution of the slavocrats the poisoned well of the national infection. Fated to be Melville's last full-length novel, it has a superficial structural similarity to Moby-Dick, once the Pequod leaves Nantucket's shores. Aboard the Mississippi steamboat, Fidele, that plies the route from St. Louis to New Orleans, sits a "piebald parliament, an Anacharsis Clootz congress of all kinds of that multiform pilgrim species, man."¹ Swarming over the

¹ Melville was probably never aboard a Mississippi steamboat and only saw the river for the first time in 1859, when he lectured in Quincy, Illinois. (Merrell R. Davis,

decks are "Japanese-looking Mississippi cotton-planters... slaves, black, mulatto, quadroon; modish young Spanish Creoles...Dives and Lazarus...grinning negroes and Sioux chiefs solemn as high-priests."² It is Banvard's three-mile panoramic canvas,³ and on it Melville will paint in his most misanthropic pictures: the good ship Fidele, Timon at the helm, wrecked on the treacherous shoals of confidence and

"Melville's Midwestern Lecture Tour, 1859," Philological Quarterly, XX (January, 1941), 48. Elizabeth S. Foster points out convincingly that Melville must have been familiar with the sketches of travel on the Mississippi, as well as the stories of life on the river-steamers and yarns about crooks, gamblers and swindlers that filled the magazines of the day. ("Herman Melville's The Confidence-Man, Its Origins and Meaning," [unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1942], pp. 203 ff). Mark Twain, whose Life on the Mississippi was written much later, began his apprenticeship to the trade of river-pilot in the same year that saw the publication of The Confidence-Man.

² It is difficult to grasp the meaning of the adjective "Japanese-looking," unless Melville was poking covert fun at the miscegenationist proclivities of Southern planters, much hooted-at by the abolitionists. In "The 'Gees" he wrote: "Many a Chinaman, in new coat and pantaloons, his long queue coiled out of sight in one of Genin's hats, has promenaded Broadway, and been taken merely for an eccentric Georgia planter." (Melville, The Apple-Tree Table, p. 329). The parable of Dives and Lazarus from Luke is mentioned over and over again in Melville's works and is a key to the economic aspect of his Christian democracy, which gets its most powerful statement in the opening pages of Moby-Dick: "Now, that Lazarus should lie stranded there on the curbstone before the door of Dives, this is more wonderful than that an iceberg should be moored to one of the Moluccas." (Op. cit., p. 11).

³ Banvard exhibited his famous Panorama of the Mississippi before thousands and described it in a pamphlet. (Foster, op. cit., pp. 203-4). Melville mentions him in his Journal Up the Straits, October 11, 1856-May 6, 1857 (New York: The Colophon, 1935), pp. 35-36.

unconfidence, and Christ crucified--one of its passengers--an accomplice of the adjacent thief. Gone is the exuberant democratic faith of Hawthorne and His Mosses; gone the vision projected as early as White-Jacket of the new America rising out of the West. Here, on the decks of the Fidele reigns "the dashing and all-fusing spirit of the West, whose type is the Mississippi itself, which, uniting the streams of the most distant and opposite zones, pours them along, helter skelter, in one cosmopolitan and confident tide." The sentence is to be taken ironically, for the tale itself--a point-counterpoint of swindle and hypocrisy--sinks to a mud-bottom of cynical disillusion. In the wake of the Fidele, through soiled waters, followed by smirking pilot-fish, glides the Maldive shark in the eight masquerades of the confidence-man.

It is an acid view, indeed, that pervades The Confidence-Man--a cynicism that bites at all of society and etches sardonically the Negro and his would-be friends. Appropriately enough, the travesty begins at sunset of an April Fool's Day, when a lamb-like deaf-mute dressed in cream-colors--a Christ deluded and deluding--sets the stage with his placarded sermon on charity according to I Corinthians xiii. Almost immediately after, "a grotesque negro cripple" named Guinea, with "good-natured, honest black face," hobbles into the story. Guinea is the American Lazarus. "It was curious to see him," notes Melville, "out of his very deformity, indigence and houselessness, so cheerily endured, raising mirth in some of that crowd whose own purses, hearths, hearts, all their

possessions, sound limbs included, could not make gay." To expedite his begging he impersonates a dog;⁴ as many buttons as pennies are thrown him, aimed to hit his teeth. When "a limping, gimlet-eyed, sour-faced person," who hates or suspects everything or everybody--"it may be some discharged custom-house officer"--after "sundry observations of the negro," croaks out that his deformity is sham and his complexion paint, Melville observes that although "these suspicions came from one who himself on a wooden leg went halt, this did not appear to strike" the listeners. All the crowd, including the Methodist preacher, finally turn against the Negro, who has described himself as "Der Black Guinea...dog widout massa."⁵

"No confidence is dis poor ole darkie," wails the Negro, turning appealingly to those about him. The response is ironic. "Yes, my poor fellow, I have confidence in you...and here is proof of my trust," exclaims the country merchant as he hands him a half-dollar. The Negro gives the names of friends as references. Why don't you find your friends yourself? asks one of the hostile crowd. "How can I go find 'em

⁴ Melville describes Guinea as "cut down to the stature of a Newfoundland dog." (Melville, The Confidence-Man, p. 10). In "Benito Cereno," Babo, the "villain," turns up his face to his master "like a shepherd's dog." (Melville, Shorter Novels, p. 245). Captain Delano also "took to negroes, not philanthropically, but genially, just as other men to Newfoundland dogs." (See above, p.88).

⁵ Melville, The Confidence-Man, p. 12.

myself?" he replies. "Dis poor ole game-legged darkie's friends must come to him."⁶

Up to this point, Melville's sympathy for Guinea seems patent; and he has neatly scored those vulnerable critics of the Negro whose stock-in-trade is character assassination. There is genuine shock when it is exposed that Guinea is either the confidence-man in disguise or his "finger-man" confederate; that his role has been to establish the respectability of the impersonations to follow; that his begging has simply been a means of discovering eligible victims, of whom the country merchant has been the first. "Ah, poor Guinea! have you, too, been distrusted? You, upon whom nature has placarded the evidence of your claims?" clucks the confidence-man, who has returned as the man with the weed in order to prepare the way for the transfer-agent of the Black Rapid Coal Company to unload his goldbricks on the country merchant.⁷

The parable of Guinea is only the first of a three-part, cynical sermon to the "zealot" friends of the Negro.⁸ In part

⁶ Ibid., pp. 23-4.

⁷ Ibid., p. 44.

⁸ If Elizabeth S. Foster's interpretation of the parable is tenuous, the fault lies with Melville, whose hazy allegory at this point played fast-and-loose with the practical, life-and-death problems of millions of Negroes: "The crippled Negro with his 'blackfleece,' coming immediately after the lamb-like man with his white, fleecy vesture, suggests a deliberate contrast between the pure ideal of Christianity and the black use made of it by the powers of evil, or perhaps between the white ideal and the black perversion wrought by man, or both. Just a year earlier, in 'Benito Cereno,' Melville described another

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

...the first of the ...

two, as the parable continues, it is the glib Emersonian dogma of compensation, satirized a few years before,⁹ that comes under withering fire. Its key question--is anyone really unfortunate?--is propounded by Mr. Truman, the man with the ledger, one of those fellows who, whether in stocks, politics, bread-stuffs, morals, metaphysics or religion, "trump up their black panics in the naturally quiet brightness." Yes, answers the country merchant, citing, among others, the Negro cripple. Mr. Truman demurs; there is really no such thing as absolute evil in the world; all things compensate. The merchant is interested. Is it not possible, suggests Mr. Truman, that the "alleged hardships of that alleged unfortunate might not exist more in the pity of the observer than the experience of the observed? He knew nothing about the cripple, nor had seen him, but ventured to surmise that could one but get at the real state of his heart, he would be found about as happy as most men, if not, in fact, full as happy as the speaker himself. Negroes were by nature a singularly cheerful race; no one ever heard of a native-born African Zimmerman or Torquemada; that even from religion they dismissed all gloom; in their hilarious

Negro in much the same terms as this one...it is probable that Melville had come to think of the god-like black man as a symbol for the black, deceitful malice of the universe masquerading as fidelity and love." (*Op. cit.*, pp. 148-9). A reading of the first pages of Billy Budd, which contains a black counterpart to Billy, is a corrective of this point of view.

⁹ In 1854, in "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs." (Melville, The Apple-Tree Table, pp. 271-300).

rituals they danced so to speak, and, as it were, cut pigeon wings. It was improbable, therefore, that a negro, however reduced to his stumps by fortune, could be ever thrown off the legs of a laughing philosophy." The country merchant seems persuaded.¹⁰ The cynicism, of course, lies not so much in the fatuous argument of the man with the ledger as in the easy agreement of one of the few "philanthropists" aboard the Fidele. The lesson in mockery is clear: if the abolitionist transcendentalists insist on following "compensation" to its logical extreme, this is the inhuman paradox they must end up with. If Guinea is a fraud, says Melville in effect, his transcendental friends are fools.¹¹

¹⁰ Melville, The Confidence-Man, pp. 87-8.

¹¹ It has been suggested that Mark Winsome, a passenger on the Fidele, is a caricature of Emerson. (Egbert S. Oliver, "Melville's Picture of Emerson and Thoreau in 'The Confidence-Man,'" College English, VIII [November, 1946], 61-72). Winsome has with him "a certain negro body-servant, whose hands nature had died black, perhaps with the same purpose that mittens wear white; this negro servant's hands did most of his master's handling for him; having to do with dirt for his account, but not to his prejudices....Not that he looked as if he were a kind of Wilberforce at all...." (Melville, The Confidence-Man, p. 55). In February 1849, Melville wrote Evert Duyckinck from Boston: "I have heard Emerson since I have been here. Say what they will, he's a great man." A week later, he defended Emerson's brilliance against Duyckinck's disparagement: "I had heard of him as full of transcendentalisms, myths & oracular gibberish; I had only glanced at a book of his once in Putnam's store--that was all I knew of him, till I heard him Lecture." If Emerson was a fool, he continued, "Then had I rather be a fool than a wise man." (Thorp, Herman Melville, pp. 371-72). Nowhere does Melville comment directly on Emerson's politics. In the early sixties, he purchased two second-hand volumes of the Essays and in 1870 a copy of The Conduct of Life. (Braswell, "Melville as a Critic of Emerson," passim). The marginalia in these volumes reveal Melville's refusal to look at the work-a-day world of hard fact through Emerson's rose-colored glasses.

Part three of the sermon abandons parable for a direct castigation of abolitionism. The vehicle for the attack is an animated dialogue between a blunt Missourian--to whom, as between black chattel and Northern wage-laborer, "the niggers are the freer of the two"--and the confidence-man in his fourth disguise as a nostrum-peddling "yarb-doctor" (significant of the strength of abolitionism among the variegated reformers of the day, caricatured by Melville in the denizens of "The Apostle's" in Pierre).

"You are an abolitionist, ain't you?" asks the Missourian. "As to that, I cannot so readily answer," replies the herb-doctor. "If by abolitionist you mean a zealot, I am none; but if you mean a man, who, being a man, feels for all men, slaves included, and by any lawful act, opposed to nobody's interest, and therefore, rousing nobody's enmity, would willingly abolish suffering (supposing it, in its degree, to exist) from among mankind, irrespective of color, then am I what you say."¹² It is no Wendell Phillips or Frederick Douglass represented here by the herb-doctor, but rather the moderate anti-slavery man who will later become the foe of the

¹² Thorp, (Herman Melville, p. cx), quoting this passage but omitting the crucial satirical words--"opposed to nobody's interest, and therefore, rousing nobody's enmity" and "supposing it, in its degree, to exist"--opines that this "seems to voice Melville's view a decade later." An examination of the Battle-Pieces volume of 1866 shows this to be only partly true. It must also be remembered that the confidence-man speaks these words tongue-in-cheek in order to bait the Missourian, who savagely tries to rebutt them.

radical Republicans. "Picked and prudent sentiments," replies the Missourian derisively. "You are the moderate man, the invaluable understrapper of the wicked man. You, the moderate man, may be used for wrong, but are useless for right."

The herb-doctor, like the country merchant, is too willing to be convinced. "From all this," he comments, "I infer, that you, a Missourian, though living in a slave-state, are without slave sentiments." "Aye, but are you?" is the reply. "Is not that air of yours so spiritlessly enduring and yielding, the very air of a slave? Who is your master, pray; or are you owned by a company?" "My master?" exclaims the herb-doctor. "Aye," continues the Missourian, "for come from Maine or Georgia, you come from a slave-state, and a slave-pen, where the best breeds are to be bought up at any price from a livelihood to the Presidency." The Missourian is no Nulli; but his conclusion is Nulli's: "Abolitionist, ye gods, but expresses the fellow feeling of slave for slave."¹³

Thus Melville makes his analysis--an incisive one in some respects--of the over-all problem of the inequity of his time. No solution, however, is given--"Something further may follow of this Masquerade" is the concluding sentence of the book--but the one implied is the dead-end of Mardi, the fatalist quietism of Babbalanja concerning the tribe of Hamo in southern Vivenza: "Time--all-healing Time--Time, the great Philanthropist!--Time must befriend these thralls!" Practically, the

¹³ Melville, The Confidence-Man, p. 175.

commentary of the Missourian--"the one honest man aboard the Fidele" according to William Ellery Sedgwick¹⁴ -- is grist for the mill of the incipient Copperheads of 1857.¹⁵

The interpolated story of Colonel Moredock, the Indian-hater, a high-point of the novel, further complicates the matter. Moredock is a frontiersman who has sucked in hatred of the red man with his mother's milk. Thrice widowed by the tomahawk, his mother has been murdered with all her children, he alone surviving. His hatred increases, is maniacal. Yet Moredock is a man, intelligent, self-reliant, and "not without some fineness in his nature." The paradox is clear: the frontiersman is "an example of something apparently self-contradictory, certainly curious, but, at the same time,

¹⁴ Herman Melville, The Tragedy of Mind (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), p. 189. It is possible to agree with Sedgwick here without subscribing to a connotation of "honest" which implies "right." As Miss Foster notes, the Missourian "comes as near as anyone in the novel to being the spokesman of Melville." (Op. cit., p. 165). He foreshadows Ungar, the Confederate-expatriate of Clarel, who echoes his views.

¹⁵ Some of Melville's anti-abolitionism was perhaps the result of personal grievance. Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, his father-in-law, who had begun his career as an ardent anti-slavery man, loudly applauded by the intransigents for his decision in Commonwealth v Aves in 1836 and for his opposition to the Mexican War and the annexation of Texas in 1844, later came under their severe fire for his decision in the Shadrach case upholding the Fugitive Slave Act. R.H. Dana then attacked him as "a man of no courage or pride"; and Wendell Phillips, lashed out at him for his decision in the Sim's case as one who had "betrayed the bench and the courts of the Commonwealth, and the honor of a noble profession...." (Frederic H. Chase, Lemuel Shaw, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts 1830-1866 [Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918], pp. 161-174).

undeniable; namely, that nearly all Indian-haters have at bottom loving hearts; at any rate, hearts, if anything, more generous than average." The confidence-man who has listened to the story, is politely incredulous: "How could John Moredock be also the man of love?"

The story is one of many versions of Melville's metaphysical exploration of the anomaly of coexistent good and evil in God's world--the problem treated at the last in Billy Budd.¹⁶ That it applies, truly or falsely, on the historical level to the relations between the white man and the Tashtegos of the country is obvious. Miss Foster quite rightly sees Indian-hunting as Melville's "synecdoche for man-distrusting in general."¹⁷ But substitute Negro for Indian in the

¹⁶ The particular difficulty of separating Melville's opinions from those of his characters--a matter noted by Melville himself in Pierre--is illustrated in the story of Colonel Moredock. A river-operator tells the story, but repudiating Moredock's Indian-hating views, attributes them to Judge James Hall, whose sketch, "Indian Hating," appeared in The Western Monthly Magazine, I (September, 1833), 403-8 and served Melville as a source. It is interesting to note that Melville redacted this source in a manner similar to his manipulation of Amasa Delano's account in "Benito Cereno." Whereas Hall sympathizes with the maltreated Indian and excoriates the white aggressor, Melville deletes all of Hall's extenuating explanations of red rapine and gives the Indian a character of innate depravity. (Foster, op. cit., pp. 172-3).

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 178. Lewis Mumford writes that the Moredock episode is "somewhat mysterious" and understandable only in the light of Melville's "pathological character" at the time. (Op. cit., pp. 247-8).

narrative and its point becomes sharper. In fact, it is the problem of the "good" slave-holder over again--the patriarchal General Gansevoort with his black stable-boys; the kind-hearted purser of the United States and his seaman-slave, Guinea; the Southern officers aboard the frigate who were more considerate than those of Northern stock to the tars under them. It is not only a recapitulation of Babbalanja's argument that not all the plantation owners of southern Vivenza are as insensate as Nulli, but also a forecast of the heroic sentimentalizations of Jackson and Lee in the poems of the Civil War.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVE OF WAR

The Confidence-Man is Melville's last full-length novel. Published on the eve of war towards the close of an epoch in the life of the country, it epitomizes his opinion, at that critical point, of the state of the nation and the future of its people. With the exception of a slight sheaf of travel poems that will appear in Timoleon at the end of the century (and, perhaps, the first verses of Clarel), it is his final production up to the fall of Richmond. As the conflict--which years before in Mardi he suspected to be irrepressible--loomed closer and closer, despair gnawed fiercely within him. "The nearer any disease approaches to a crisis," says Common Sense, "the nearer it is to a cure. Danger and deliverance make their advances together, and it is only the last push, in which the one or the other takes the lead." But Melville's outlook was not Paine's, and the sharpening crisis served only to nourish the insidious germ of defeatism that he had long harbored. Vanished now was the early rose-marine vision of manifest Christian and democratic destiny, self-rebutted the glowing republican phrase. The dominant theme of The Confidence-Man, emerging from the bottomless despair and irreconcilable cynicism of its elaborate allegory, is an argument by indirection against the fatuous actionists of his

day, who strive, in allegedly basic delusion, to rid mankind of appalling injustice. Melville will have none of these, to him, crass ideas.

Although his early autobiographical novels, with their open-collared vitality, present him as man of action, Melville was not that. "To act is so easy, as Goethe says; to think is so hard"--these words he would underscore in an essay by Arnold some years later.¹ The tortured search for the ultimate certainties--the unceasing attempt to unravel the "mystery of iniquity" which continued through Billy Budd to the end of his life--had ever muddled and incapacitated him for decision. "Herman Melville called for some volumes of the Essayists to take with him to his winter-reading at Pittsfield," comments Evert Duyckinck in his diary at the end of January 1860. "Says that the mealy mouthed habit of writings of human nature of the present day would not tolerate the plain speaking of Johnson, for instance, in the Rambler--who does not hesitate to use the word Malignity!"² The underscored word is characteristic of the obsession that consumed him. Even in the Battle-Pieces poems, written during the days of conflict, he will not seem wholly at peace with the stand that he often too pompously or too shrilly proclaims. The war could not solve his problem. Where "the wolves are killed off," he had said laconically in the opening lines of The Confidence-Man, "the foxes increase."³

¹ Matthiessen, op. cit., p. 468.

² Duyckinck Collection.

³ Melville, The Confidence-Man, p. 2.

...the
... ..
... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..

In October 1856, the manuscript of The Confidence-Man in the hands of his publisher, Melville sailed for Liverpool, the first stop of a tour to Italy and the near East. His health had been poor since the overworked days of Moby-Dick, and during February and June of 1855 Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes had to be called in to treat severe attacks of rheumatism and sciatica.⁴ Hawthorne, in Liverpool, found him in a mood of pessimism, and recorded in his diary that his friend had "pretty much made up his mind to be annihilated."⁵ There is no indication that any discussion transpired concerning the political situation in the States, although it would seem that Hawthorne, in his office of consul, might be avid for recent news.

The long, and in places undecipherable, journal of the trip kept by Melville, a cornucopia of discerning observation of sights and sounds by an intelligent and philosophical traveler, is the source-book for the long poem Clarel printed a score of years later. Since this trip was designed partly at least as a therapeutic escape from the problems that oppressed him, it is not at all surprising that, with the exception of some pointed criticism of the Zionist movement of the mid-nineteenth century, its commentary should be remarkably

⁴ From an MS pocket diary of Melville's wife written in her old age, cited by Raymond Weaver in his introduction to Melville's Journal Up the Straits, p. xvi.

⁵ Weaver, Herman Melville, p. 336.

remote from the issues of the day. With the problem and character of the Negro, the jumbled notes reveal only slight concern. In early December, off Mt. Olympus in Greece, on the deck of his ship, he notes Turkish women, spreading their prayer-carpets on deck, among them two "negresses, faces covered, to conceal their beauty." Later in the month, in Scutari, looking across the Bosphorus to Constantinople, he recalls seeing a Negro Musselman from the First Bridge at Buyukdereh a few days before, and notes: "Unlike other dispersed nations (Jews, Armenians, Gypsies) who proof against proselytism adhere to the faith first delivered to their fathers. Negro as indifferent to forms as horse to caparisons. (Turks want to be buried in Asia.)"⁶ By May 1857, he was back home ready to resume life at Arrowhead. The Confidence-Man, published in his absence, was all but ignored in America and not too well understood in Britain. Typical was the opinion of the reviewer for The Spectator, who thought it an "exaggerated representation" of the evils of American society--a book whose "precise design" was not very clear.⁷

Beset by financial worries, between November 1857 and February 1860 Melville was forced to leave his comfortable Berkshire piazza with its view of majestic Greylock to lecture

⁶ Melville, Journal Up the Straits, pp. 15-6, 35-6, 42-3, 45.

⁷ The Spectator, XXX (April 11, 1857), 398-9.

the lyceum circuit.⁸ As far south as Clarkesville, Tennessee and as far west as Chicago, audiences gathered to hear the "author of 'Peedee, Hullabaloo and Pog-Dog'" discourse on "Roman Statuary," "The South Seas," and "Travelling: Its Pleasures, Pains and Profits."⁹

Something of the spirit of Typee and White-Jacket seems to have returned to him during this period. The Boston Journal furnishes a vivid picture of a lecture on the South Seas delivered in January 1859. A "paper published in the Sandwich Islands" suggesting "the propriety of not having the native language taught in the common schools," had come to his notice. Melville, disgusted, utterly rejected the idea. "In conclusion," writes the Journal reporter, "the lecturer spoke of the desire of the natives of the Georges Island to be annexed to the United States. He was sorry to see it, and, as a friend of humanity, and especially as a friend of the South Sea Islanders, he should pray, and call upon all Christians to pray with him, that the Polynesians might be delivered from all foreign and contaminating influences."¹⁰

⁸ In August 1857 he agreed to write for the newly-founded Atlantic Monthly, which listed him as a promised contributor. (John H. Birss, "Herman Melville and the Atlantic Monthly," Notes and Queries, CLXVII [September 29, 1934], 223).

⁹ George Kummer, "Herman Melville and the Ohio Press," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XLV (January, 1936), 34-6; Francis V. Lloyd, Jr., "Melville's First Lecture," American Literature, XIII (January, 1942), 391-95; Thorp, "Herman Melville's Silent Years," 254-62.

¹⁰ Weaver, Herman Melville, pp. 272-75.

Fortunately, there is extant in the Cambridge Chronicle a full report of the lecture on "Travelling" delivered at Dowse Institute in Cambridge in February 1860.¹¹ It is no innocuous travelogue that Melville presented. Noting that the "persecutions and extortions of guides" were a "serious drawback" on the sightseer's pleasure, he reminded his listeners of the "thousand times worse extortions practiced on the immigrants here." Europe did "not know all the rogues." Traveling enabled one to "get rid of a few prejudices....The stock-broker goes to Thessalonica and finds infidels more honest than Christians." Nor did he stop there. A heated presidential campaign was in progress that would end with Lincoln in the White House. John Brown was hardly mouldering in his grave and Melville had no doubt already seen the portent in the streaming beard of the "meteor of the war." Perhaps it was the electricity of the times that impelled him now to drop the cynical apathy of The Confidence-Man and in conclusion, to proclaim from the lectern that the traveler "prejudiced against color," finding "several millions of people of all shades of color, and all degrees of intellect, rank, and social work "scattered through the world," was persuaded "to give up his foolish prejudice." Thus, by enlarging one's "sphere of comprehensive benevolence" till it included "the whole human

¹¹ John H. Birss, "'Travelling,' A New Lecture by Herman Melville," New England Quarterly, VII (December, 1934), 726-27.

race," traveling--and this was its chief virtue--contributed to "the breaking up of old prejudices."

The labors of the lyceum circuit did not improve Melville's health, and the lecture in Cambridge was his last. Thinking that change of scene and salt-air might succeed where Dr. Holmes had failed, at the end of May 1860 he embarked on his brother Tom's clipper-ship Meteor for a voyage round the Cape. There is nothing of note recorded in his fragmentary journal of the cruise--a bit of poetry-spouting on the open deck, little else. By the time he had exhausted the ship's supply of books and papers, five months had passed and he was home--somewhat mended in body and revived in spirit by the old ocean life.¹²

It was November--Lincoln had just been elected--when Melville returned. During the following March, a few weeks after the new president had taken office, he left Arrowhead for Washington, joining the horde of political place-hunters so mercilessly satirized by Artemus Ward and Orpheus C. Ker. On the way he stopped at New York to write anxiously to Richard

¹² "Journal of Melville's Voyage in a Clipper Ship," New England Quarterly, II (January, 1929), 120-25; Mead Minnerode, Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and A Bibliography (New York: The Brick Row Book Shop, Inc., 1922), pp. 81, 89. A newsclip among the Melville Papers at Houghton Library at Harvard University, pencil-dated 1860 and evidently from a California newspaper, after stating that "private letters from Boston" had advised of Melville's projected trip, suggests that the "Mercantile Library Association, or some other society, might possibly secure his services for a series of lectures." I have not yet been able to ascertain whether Melville lectured in San Francisco.

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

... ..
... ..

Henry Dana, Jr. to enlist Senator Sumner and other Boston big-wigs in the cause of securing for him the appointment to the consulate at Florence.¹³

To his wife, he wrote a full description of the trip. Arriving in Washington, he made the rounds, visited the Senate twice, saw the Washington monument, and attended the second levee at the White House where he joined the "steady stream of two-&-twos" that "wound thro' the apartments shaking hands with 'Old Abe!'" Melville, "one of the shakers," found Lincoln "much better looking" than he had expected "& younger looking." Although the president "shook hands like a good fellow--working hard at it like a man sawing wood at so much per cord" the trip was fruitless, save perhaps in the living picture of Lincoln stored up in his memory for the powerful assassination poem of the volume of 1866--a magnificent but too little-known complement to Whitman's famous threnody.¹⁴ Dana had done his best--duty required him to notify Sumner of "a doubt" whether Melville was in good health--but to no avail.¹⁵ There was nothing to do but return home. When in April 1861, Fort Sumter was

¹³ Hart, op. cit., pp. 52-3. Lemuel Shaw, his father-in-law, also wrote Dana in Melville's behalf and Thurlow Weed's aid was solicited. (Thorp, "Herman Melville's Silent Years," 254-62). Dana was United States Attorney for the district of Massachusetts from April 1861 to September 1866.

¹⁴ Thorp, Herman Melville, pp. 400-1.

¹⁵ Hart, op. cit., p. 53. More successful was William Dean Howells who received the appointment to the consulate at Venice.

fired on, Melville was back in Pittsfield, reading in his library and working on his farm.

He was to be neither impassioned actor nor apathetic spectator during the time of whirlwinds that blew furiously for the next fifteen years. In the Battle-Pieces of 1866, he would comment soberly, almost lifelessly in places, on the death of young men in war, and in the appendix essay on reconstruction he would say his political piece--temperate, trite, finely phrased. Clarel, a decade later, would re-iterate some of the old ideas, slightly modified. Times had changed. The world-shaking fact of Grant before Richmond was to mark a new age, whose men and women he would be unwilling, or more likely, unable to understand and to depict. The ruin of the Nantucket whaling fleet, brought on by the discovery of petroleum on the eve of the war--another portent of the new age--may be seen as a symbol of the decay of that high art that flowered in Moby-Dick.

Yet there is more to be said. If Melville's thought was spotted at times with racism, vacillation and inconsistency, yet frequently--as in his denunciation of Parkman's snobbery, or in his review of Hawthorne and His Mosses, or in the simple sentences of young Cadwallader Redburn, or in Ishmael's prayer to the "just Spirit of Equality"--he seems to have uttered the most powerful democratic words of his time on the subject of the Negro in American life. If, succumbing to the cheap attraction of comic relief, he too often made his cooks and

There is, however, one more thing to be said in this connection, and that is, that the

the same is true of the other two cases.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the same is true of the other two cases.

The first case is the case of the first case.

The second case is the case of the second case.

The third case is the case of the third case.

The fourth case is the case of the fourth case.

The fifth case is the case of the fifth case.

The sixth case is the case of the sixth case.

The seventh case is the case of the seventh case.

The eighth case is the case of the eighth case.

The ninth case is the case of the ninth case.

The tenth case is the case of the tenth case.

The eleventh case is the case of the eleventh case.

The twelfth case is the case of the twelfth case.

The thirteenth case is the case of the thirteenth case.

The fourteenth case is the case of the fourteenth case.

The fifteenth case is the case of the fifteenth case.

The sixteenth case is the case of the sixteenth case.

The seventeenth case is the case of the seventeenth case.

The eighteenth case is the case of the eighteenth case.

The nineteenth case is the case of the nineteenth case.

The twentieth case is the case of the twentieth case.

The twenty-first case is the case of the twenty-first case.

The twenty-second case is the case of the twenty-second case.

galley-helpers dance to minstrel tunes, nevertheless, at its best, his genius pulses with the good red blood of manifest Jacksonian democracy which also pumped through Whitman's veins--the common blood that nourished those vital works which give the era in retrospect the glow of an "American Renaissance." If Uncle Tom's Cabin was the great political pamphlet of the anti-slavery cause, then Moby-Dick, which came out in same year, was the great prose-poem, ante-dating Leaves of Grass, on the equality of all Americans. Where else in American literature prior to 1851 can one meet a Negro who rings true in his occupation and who is a man? Yet in Melville's pages there is to be met a goodly company of such men: Mr. Thompson and Lavender, Tawney and the Captain of Gun No. 5 aboard the Neversink, Fleece, Daggoo, Pip, and others who stick in the memory. The faults--which partly stemmed from exasperation with a dream shattered--drop away; the fact is that there were few who saw altogether clearly in that complex time. The positive achievement remains. Over "meanest mariners, and renegades and castaways"--of all complexions--Herman Melville, moved by his "great democratic god," spread "one royal mantle of humanity." Among his coevals--Whitman, Poe, Hawthorne, the Alcotts, Whittier, Lowell, Emerson, Thoreau, Simms--he was the only one to present the Negro as a full-bodied character in American fiction.

ABSTRACT

Almost the whole of the creative life of Herman Melville was lived in the tense and eventful fifteen years that preceded the outbreak of the Civil War. During this period, as to the end of his life, his poetic-philosophic mind was driven ceaselessly to explore the anomaly of evil in a God-created world. Since the most dramatic evil of his time was the "peculiar institution" of Negro slavery, it is not surprising that, from Typee in 1846 to The Confidence-Man in 1857, there is scarcely an important novel, short story or sketch in the Melville canon which does not contain a Negro character or touch in some way on the question of his bondage.

Although Melville's interest in the Negro was continuous throughout this period, it cannot be said, however, that his attitude was consistent. His viewpoint often sinks to the level of patronization and smacks of the minstrel-stage of his time; yet sometimes his inspired vision soars to the unconditionally democratic heights of Moby-Dick. Occasionally, as in "The 'Gees" and in "Benito Cereno," both his judgment and taste seem curiously contaminated by the racist bias of the auction block.

Despite the fact that he was born and raised a Northerner, Melville's first-hand knowledge of the Negro was a rich and varied one. His maternal grandfather, a Dutch patroon, had kept slaves--and memories of his benevolent patriarchalism had

been preserved in family tradition. Allan Melville, his father, had admired Roscoe, the Liverpool poet-politician, who had courageously fought the slave-trade. Before he was twenty, young Melville had shipped as a sailor aboard an Atlantic merchantman--had worked and talked with Negro seamen--and had noted that Liverpool was vastly juster than New York in its treatment of men of color.

In January 1841 Melville went to sea in earnest, and for almost four years in strange waters aboard whaler and man-of-war served side by side with Negroes. In distant lands he had an opportunity given to few of his time to observe the changing cultures of the colored peoples of Polynesia under the stresses of burgeoning imperialism. All these experiences would be transmuted directly into the early novels, Typee, Omoo and White-Jacket--indirectly, into Mardi and Moby-Dick.

Typee, the book that brought Melville fame as the "literary discoverer of the South Seas," makes mention of only one Negro--Mungo, a cook--but has much to say about people of color. Its clean atmosphere is one of unconditional physical democracy. In Omoo, which followed, three Negro characters appear: Baltimore, another ship's cook--a stock, minstrel figure; Black Dan, a tough seaman, whom Melville admires; and Billy Loon, a drummer at the royal court of the Sandwich Islands.

While Typee and Omoo were being written, Melville spent much of his time in New York and participated in its intense

literary-political life. It was the era of the Mexican War and slavery was everywhere the inevitable topic of discussion. In New York he frequently visited his friends, the magazine-publishing Duyckinck brothers, and in the salons of the city, listened attentively to the literary celebrities of the day--Horace Greeley, William Cullen Bryant, Margaret Fuller, Anne Charlotte Lynch, Lydia M. Child, Bayard Taylor and others--as they heatedly discussed such important matters as slave-imperialist expansion, nullification and abolition. It was at this time that Melville wrote a series of humorous articles booming Zachary Taylor for the presidency in 1848.

The ardent polemics of the soirees and lecture-halls of New York were now to be refracted in the pages of Mardi, wherein he opines allegorically on a multitude of current problems and discusses at length the plight of the slave. It is here that a fundamental trait of his thinking may be discovered at its origins: on the one hand, deep-going, astringent analysis of the slave-problem; on the other, a quietist, passive attitude towards its solution.

Redburn and White-Jacket, which came out in 1849, look backward to Melville's early experiences on the high seas. In Redburn, a fictionized record of his experience as a green hand on an Atlantic merchantman, appear Mr. Thompson, chief of the galley, and his crony, the mulatto steward Lavender. Although the delineation of these Negro seamen--in the cause of comic relief--is somewhat condescending, Melville's attitude

The first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
the third is the fact that the
the fourth is the fact that the
the fifth is the fact that the
the sixth is the fact that the
the seventh is the fact that the
the eighth is the fact that the
the ninth is the fact that the
the tenth is the fact that the

The first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
the third is the fact that the
the fourth is the fact that the
the fifth is the fact that the
the sixth is the fact that the
the seventh is the fact that the
the eighth is the fact that the
the ninth is the fact that the
the tenth is the fact that the

The first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
the third is the fact that the
the fourth is the fact that the
the fifth is the fact that the
the sixth is the fact that the
the seventh is the fact that the
the eighth is the fact that the
the ninth is the fact that the
the tenth is the fact that the

in this book is one of militant, uncompromising egalitarianism as regards the Negro in American life. White-Jacket, based on the memory of days spent on board a United States frigate during a hitch in the navy, sketches seven Negro seamen: Old Coffee, a traditional cook, and his three galley helpers, Sunshine, Rose Water and May-Day--comic but sympathetic figures; Guinea, the purser's slave; Tawney, an heroic sheet-anchor man, finely portrayed; and Melville's superior at battle-stations, the captain of the carronade dubbed "Black Bet."

Moby-Dick, written in 1851 at the high-tide of Melville's art, drawing in part on his experiences aboard a Nantucket whaler, contains his most thorough-going democratic expression concerning American society in general and the Negro in particular. In a sense, it exemplifies the principles for the new American literature laid down in his eloquent reviews of Parkman's The Oregon Trail and Hawthorne's Mosses from an Old Manse. Its three Negro characters--Daggoo, the kingly harpooner, Fleece, the profound cook, and Pip, the tragic Alabama cabin-boy--are among Melville's greatest creations, while Queequeg, another man of color, plays a leading role in the epic.

With Pierre, valuable for its biographic data, Melville's democratic enthusiasms begin to ebb, and the Negro, as a character in his fiction, is a sufferer thereby. Of the baker's dozen of short stories and sketches appearing in Harper's and Putnam's between 1853 and 1856, three items are especially

pertinent to this study. In "The Happy Warrior," the comic Negro is again portrayed in Yorpy, who speaks in a strange "Dutch African" dialect, while in "The 'Gees"--the most tasteless thing that Melville ever penned--the Fogo Islanders are described in the vocabulary of the slave-block. In "Benito Cereno," the most ambitious piece of the lot, a mutiny of Negroes aboard a slave-trader, engineered by two intrepid leaders, Babo and Atufal, is the core of the plot. But all the sympathy that the tale contains is bestowed on the slaveholder rather than his chattel, and from the story's ambiguous depths the Negro--to some readers--seems to emerge as the universal symbol of natural depravity.

The Confidence-Man, his last full-length novel and final production up to the fall of Sumter, finds Melville at the nadir of cynical despair. In its opening pages, Guinea, a crippled Negro, is revealed as either an atavar of the confidence-man or a scoundrelly confederate in his own right, and later on in the book the allegedly fatuous Abolitionists are excoriated by a "liberal" Missourian.

Having completed The Confidence-Man, Melville embarked on a voyage to the Holy Land, the journal of which contains a few scribbled notes on Negro life in the eastern Mediterranean. Upon his return, for the next few years he lectured the lyceum circuit. In a discourse on "Travelling" delivered in Cambridge in February 1860--its central point a forthright attack on the American prejudice against color--he seems momentarily to have

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

returned to the old, egalitarian view contained in some of his early books, but there is little in the record of this period to reveal his thinking on the sharpening civil crisis. With the election of Lincoln, Melville joined the horde of office-seekers descending upon Washington. The trip was made in vain. When Sumter surrendered in the spring of 1861, he was back on his Pittsfield farm. His next work would be a book of poems on the war--the Battle-Pieces volume of 1866.

If Melville's thinking in the period before the Civil War was sometimes spotted with racism, vacillation and inconsistency, it must nevertheless be admitted that from time to time he uttered the most powerfully democratic words of his age on the subject of the Negro in American life. Where else in American literature prior to 1851 can one meet a Negro who is truthfully portrayed in his work and in his character? Yet in Melville's writings there is a goodly company of such men. This is the positive achievement that overshadows the faults. Among his great and little contemporaries, he was the only one to present the Negro as a full-bodied character in American fiction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Manuscript Collections and Unpublished Materials.

Duyckinck Collection, New York Public Library.

Foster, Elizabeth S., "Herman Melville's The Confidence-Man, It's Origins and Meaning." Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 1942.

Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, New York Public Library.

Letters of William H. Tripp to Sidney Kaplan,
May 25, 28, 1948.

Mansfield, Luther Stearns, "Herman Melville: Author and New Yorker, 1844-1851." Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1936.

Melville Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University,
MS Am 188.

II. Text and Biography.

Melville, Herman, "Fragments from a Writing Desk,"
Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser, May 4,
18, 1839.

_____, "Journal of Melville's Voyage in a
Clipper Ship," New England Quarterly, II (January, 1929),
120-25.

_____, Journal Up the Straits, October 11,
1856-May 5, 1857, New York: The Colophon, 1935.

_____, Moby-Dick or The Whale, New York: Oxford
University Press, 1947.

_____, "Mr. Parkman's Tour," Literary World,
IV (March 31, 1849), 290-95.

_____, Omoo, A Narrative of Adventures in the
South Seas, A Sequel to "Typee," New York: American
Publishers Corporation, 1892.

_____, Pierre, or The Ambiguities, New York:
Alfred A. Knopf, 1931.

1900

1. General Principles of the Theory of the

of the

2. of the

3. of the

4. of the

5. of the

6. of the

7. of the

8. of the

9. of the

10. of the

11. of the

12. of the

13. of the

14. of the

Melville, Herman, Romances of Herman Melville, New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1931.

_____, Shorter Novels of Herman Melville, New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, Black and Gold Edition, 1942.

_____, The Apple-Tree Table and Other Sketches, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922.

_____, The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade, New York: Dix, Edwards and Company, 1857.

_____, The Piazza Tales, New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856.

_____, Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life, New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1923.

_____, White-Jacket, The World in a Man-of-War. Boston: The St. Botolph Society, 1922.

Minnegerode, Mead, Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and A Bibliography, New York: The Brick Row Book Shop, Inc., 1922.

Mumford, Lewis, Herman Melville, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

Paltsits, V.H., Ed., "Family Correspondence of Herman Melville," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, XXXIII (July, 1929), 507-25, 575-625.

Thorp, Willard, editor, Herman Melville, Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography and Notes, New York: American Book Company, 1938.

Weaver, Raymond M., Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic, New York: George H. Doran Company, 1921.

III. Contemporary Reviews.

Typee

National Anti-Slavery Standard, (April 2, 1846), 175.

Southern Literary Messenger, XII (April, 1846), 256.

1. The first part of the report is a general introduction to the subject of the study.

2. The second part of the report is a detailed description of the methods used in the study.

3. The third part of the report is a presentation of the results of the study.

4. The fourth part of the report is a discussion of the results and their implications.

5. The fifth part of the report is a conclusion and a list of references.

6. The sixth part of the report is a list of appendices.

7. The seventh part of the report is a list of figures and tables.

8. The eighth part of the report is a list of footnotes.

9. The ninth part of the report is a list of abbreviations.

10. The tenth part of the report is a list of symbols.

11. The eleventh part of the report is a list of units.

12. The twelfth part of the report is a list of definitions.

13. The thirteenth part of the report is a list of acknowledgments.

14. The fourteenth part of the report is a list of references.

15. The fifteenth part of the report is a list of appendices.

16. The sixteenth part of the report is a list of figures and tables.

Mardi

Athenaeum, No. 1117 (March 24, 1849), 296-7.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, LXVI (August, 1849), 172-3.

Literary Gazette, No. 1679 (March 24, 1849), 202-3.

Literary World, IV (April 7, 14, 21, 1849), 309-10, 333-36, 351-53.

Southern Quarterly Review, XXXI (October, 1849), 261.

United States Magazine and Democratic Review, XXV (July, 1849), 44-50.

Pierre

Southern Literary Messenger, XVIII (September, 1852), 574-75.

The Confidence-Man

Spectator, XXX (April 11, 1857), 398-99.

IV. Criticism and Scholarship.

Adkins, Nelson F., "A Note on Herman Melville's Typee," New England Quarterly, V (April, 1932), 348-51.

Anderson, Charles Roberts, editor, Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-44, in the Frigate "United States", Durham: Duke University Press, 1937.

Anderson, Charles Roberts, Melville in the South Seas, New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.

Anon., Articles of Faith and Covenant of the First Baptist Church, William Street, New Bedford: Press of Benjamin Lindsey, 1842.

Anon., History of the Churches of New Bedford, New Bedford: E. Anthony & Sons, Printers, 1896.

Anon., The Sea, the Ship, and the Sailor, Tales of Adventure from Log Books and Original Narratives, Salem: Marine Research Society, 1925.

1. 4. 1.

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension on the transformation efficiency of *Agrobacterium* strains. The *Agrobacterium* strains were grown in YEA medium for 24 h at 28°C. The cell concentration was adjusted to 10⁸ cells/ml. The cells were then mixed with the plant tissue and incubated for 24 h at 28°C. The plant tissue was then cultured on the selective medium. The transformation efficiency was determined as the number of transformants per 10⁶ cells. The data are the mean ± SD of three independent experiments.

Figure 1. Schematic representation of the experimental design. The subjects were divided into two groups: the control group (n = 10) and the experimental group (n = 10). The control group received a placebo (P) and the experimental group received a 10% solution of the active ingredient (A). The subjects were divided into two groups: the control group (n = 10) and the experimental group (n = 10). The control group received a placebo (P) and the experimental group received a 10% solution of the active ingredient (A). The subjects were divided into two groups: the control group (n = 10) and the experimental group (n = 10). The control group received a placebo (P) and the experimental group received a 10% solution of the active ingredient (A).

- Birss, John H., "Herman Melville and the Atlantic Monthly," Notes and Queries, CLXVII (September 29, 1934), 223-24.
- Birss, John H., "Melville's Marquesas," Saturday Review of Literature, VIII (January 2, 1932), 70-73.
- Birss, John H., "'Travelling,' A New Lecture by Herman Melville," New England Quarterly, VII (December, 1934), 726-27.
- Branch, E. Douglas, The Sentimental Years 1836-1860, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1934.
- Braswell, William, "Herman Melville and Christianity." Doctor's dissertation, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1934.
- Braswell, William, "Melville as a Critic of Emerson," American Literature, IX (November, 1937), 317-34.
- Braswell, William, review of Sundermann's Herman Melville's Gedankengut in American Literature, X (March, 1938), 104-7.
- Brooks, Van Wyck, The Times of Melville and Whitman, New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1947.
- Brown, Sterling, "Negro Characters As Seen by White Authors" Journal of Negro Education, II (April, 1933), 179-203.
- Chase, Frederick Hathaway, Lemuel Shaw, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts 1830-1866, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918.
- Crapo, H.W., The New Bedford Directory, New Bedford: Press of Benjamin Lindsey, 1841.
- Currie, William Wallace, editor, Memoir of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence of James Currie, M.D., F.R.S., of Liverpool, London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1831.
- Davis, Merrell R., "Melville's Midwestern Lecture Tour, 1859," Philological Quarterly, XX (January, 1941), 46-57.
- Dykes, Eva Beatrice, The Negro in English Romantic Thought, Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1942.

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work during the year.

2. The second part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the various projects.

3. The third part of the report deals with the financial situation of the organization and the progress of the various projects.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the various projects.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the financial situation of the organization and the progress of the various projects.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the various projects.

7. The seventh part of the report deals with the financial situation of the organization and the progress of the various projects.

8. The eighth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the various projects.

9. The ninth part of the report deals with the financial situation of the organization and the progress of the various projects.

10. The tenth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the various projects.

11. The eleventh part of the report deals with the financial situation of the organization and the progress of the various projects.

12. The twelfth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the various projects.

13. The thirteenth part of the report deals with the financial situation of the organization and the progress of the various projects.

14. The fourteenth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the various projects.

Feltenstein, Rosalie, "Melville's Benito Cereno," American Literature, XIX (November, 1947), 245-55.

Fuller, Thomas, The Holy and Profane State, Cambridge: Hilliard and Brown, 1837.

Ghodes, Clarence, "Gossip About Melville in the South Seas," New England Quarterly, X (September, 1937), 526-31.

Gilman, William H., "Melville's Liverpool Trip," Modern Language Notes, LXI (December, 1946), 543-47.

Gloster, Hugh Morris, Negro Voices in American Fiction, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948.

Greene, Lorenzo Johnston, The Negro in Colonial New England 1620-1776, New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.

Hall, Lawrence Sargent, Hawthorne, Critic of Society, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944.

Hart, James D., "Melville and Dana," American Literature, IX (March, 1937), 49-56.

Hazlitt, William, The Complete Works of William Hazlitt, edited by P.P. Howe, London: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1931, XIV.

Hicks, Thomas, Eulogy on Thomas Crawford, New York: Privately Printed for Subscribers, 1865.

Hohman, Elmo Paul, The American Whaleman, A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry, New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1928.

Hutt, F.W., editor, A History of Bristol County, Massachusetts, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1924.

Keiser, Albert, The Indian in American Literature, New York: Oxford University Press, 1933.

Keeler, John and Leonard Shaw, The South Sea Islanders, with a Short Sketch of Captain Morrell's Voyage to the North and South Pacific Ocean, in the Schooner Antarctic belonging to Messrs. Bergh, Westerfield, Carnley, Skiddy, Livingston, and Ivers of New York, New York: Printed by Snowden, 58 Wall Street, 1831.

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work during the year.

2. The second part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

3. The third part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

7. The seventh part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

8. The eighth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

9. The ninth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

10. The tenth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

11. The eleventh part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

12. The twelfth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

13. The thirteenth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

14. The fourteenth part of the report deals with the results of the work done during the year and the progress of the work during the year.

- Kummer, George, "Herman Melville and the Ohio Press," Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, XLV (January, 1936), 34-6.
- Larrabee, Stephen A., "Melville Against the World," South Atlantic Quarterly, XXXIV (October, 1935), 410-18.
- Lathers, Richard, The Reminiscences of Richard Lathers, New York: The Grafton Press, 1907. A.F. Sanborn, editor.
- Leech, Samuel, Thirty Years from Home, or A Voice from the Main Deck, Boston: Charles Tappan, 1844.
- Lloyd, Francis V. Jr., "Melville's First Lecture," American Literature, XIII (January, 1942), 391-5.
- Lowell, James Russell, Works, IX, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1892.
- Mansfield, Luther Stearns, "Melville's Comic Articles on Zachary Taylor," American Literature, IX (January, 1938), 411-18.
- Matthiessen, F.O., American Renaissance, Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman, New York: Oxford University Press, 1941.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot, The Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1921.
- Nelson, John Herbert, The Negro Character in American Literature, Lawrence, Kansas: Department of Journalism Press, 1926.
- Nichols, Thomas Low, Forty Years of American Life, New York: Stackpole Sons Publishing Company, 1937.
- Niebuhr, H. Richard, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, New York: Henry Holt, 1929.
- Obituary on Zachary Taylor in the Literary World, VII (July 20, 1850), 483.
- Oliver, Egbert S., "A Second Look at 'Bartleby,'" College English, VI (May, 1945), 431-39.
- Oliver, Egbert S., "'Cock-A-Doodle-Do! and Transcendental Hocus-Pocus," New England Quarterly, XXI (June, 1948), 204-16.

1. The first of these is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

2. The second is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

3. The third is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

4. The fourth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

5. The fifth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

6. The sixth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

7. The seventh is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

8. The eighth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

9. The ninth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

10. The tenth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

11. The eleventh is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

12. The twelfth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

13. The thirteenth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

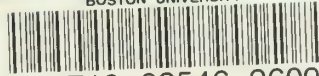
14. The fourteenth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

15. The fifteenth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

16. The sixteenth is the fact that the
economy has been in a state of
recession since 1980.

- Oliver, Egbert S., "Melville's Picture of Emerson and Thoreau in 'The Confidence-Man,'" College English, VIII (November, 1946), 61-72.
- Olson, Charles, Call Me Ishmael, New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947.
- Ricketson, Daniel, The History of New Bedford, New Bedford: Published by the Author, 1850.
- Roscoe, Henry, The Life of William Roscoe, Boston: Russell, Odiorne and Company, 1833.
- Scudder, Harold H., "Melville's Benito Cereno and Captain Delano's Voyages," Publication of the Modern Language Association, XLIII (June, 1928), 502-32.
- Sedgwick, William Ellery, Herman Melville, The Tragedy of Mind, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945.
- Sundermann, K.H., Herman Melvilles Gedankengut, Eine kritische Untersuchung seiner weltanschaulichen Grundideen, Berlin: Verlag Arthur Collignon, 1937.
- Thorp, Willard, "Herman Melville's Silent Years," University Review, III (Summer, 1937), 254-62.
- Timrod, Henry, Poems of Henry Timrod, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1899.
- Thoreau, Henry D., Anti-Slavery and Reform Papers, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1890.
- Turner, Lorenzo Dow, Anti-Slavery Sentiments in American Literature Prior to 1865, Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1929.
- Wesley, Charles H., Negro Labor in the United States, New York: Vanguard Press, 1927.
- William, Stanley T., "'Follow Your Leader,' Melville's 'Benito Cereno,'" Virginia Quarterly Review, XXIII (Winter, 1947), 61-76.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY



1 1719 02546 2609

ACCOPRESS BINDER

BF 250-P7-EMB

Made By

ACCO PRODUCTS, INC.

Ogdensburg, N. Y., U.S.A.

